Becoming international in a Japanese school: an ethnographic study

Lynne Parmenter

Abstract

In 1989, the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (Monbusho) published a set of reforms which took effect in junior high schools from April 1993. Two issues emphasised in these reforms were the importance of strengthening national identity and the promotion of internationalisation.

Based on two years ethnographic research in Japanese junior high schools shortly after the reforms took effect, this thesis is centred on the study of these two issues. The thesis explores Monbusho and students' interpretations of what it means to be Japanese and to be international. The focus throughout the thesis is on the development of students' identities, or their ways of seeing, thinking and feeling about themselves, others and the world in which they live.

The first half of the thesis considers theories relevant to the subject. Chapters 1 and 2 examine the nature and development of identities in general, and of national, international, global and cultural identities in particular. Chapters 3 and 4 focus on Japan, considering theories of Japanese identities and surveying literature on Japanese nationalism and internationalisation. Chapter 5 takes a chronological approach to the development of identities at each stage of the Japanese education system.

The second half of the thesis is based on data collected during the two years fieldwork in Japanese schools. Chapter 6 describes the methodology, and discusses some of the issues which arose during the course of the fieldwork. Chapters 7 and 8 explore the basic principles which underpin the development of all identities in Japan, while chapter 9 centres on the individual's construction and change of his/ her own identities. Building on the foundations of these three chapters, chapters 10 and 11 move on to the specific issue of the development of national, international, global and cultural identities by junior high school students.

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Contents

~~Note: Appendices 3-7 are submitted separately~~ Not submitted with the thesis

Declaration

No part of the material offered in this thesis has previously been submitted by me for a degree in this or in any other university.

Statement of copyright

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Introduction

"Internationalisation" (国際化, *kokusaika*) is one of the buzzwords of Japanese education in the 1990s. Emphasised by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (hereafter referred to as Monbusho) in its 1989 reforms, internationalisation is advocated throughout the school system and across the curriculum. In spite of its importance within Japan, however, this facet of Japanese education has been scantily addressed in the literature on Japanese education, particularly in the literature available in English. Certain aspects of the subject, such as returnee education (e.g. Goodman 1990) and foreign language education (e.g. 佐々木輝雄 (*Sasaki Teruo*) 1994, Yano 1992) have been treated, as have some of the implications of policies of internationalisation at the administrative level (Ehara 1992, Lincicome 1993). Books of advice for teachers on how to incorporate internationalisation into the teaching of specific subjects are also available (e.g. 井上裕吉 & 堀内一男 (*Inoue Hirokichi & Horiuchi Kazuo*) 1994). What has been virtually ignored is the effects of the internationalisation policy on the vast majority of students in ordinary Japanese schools. Unlike the well-publicised returnees, these are students who have generally never been abroad, and who may have had little contact with foreigners. They are not the 'elites' of society, they do not have any say in national policies on internationalisation, and they do not even feature in most reports of internationalisation in Japanese education, as these tend to focus on numbers of students abroad and so on (e.g. Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture 1995). Yet they are at the centre of the internationalisation issue. As Lincicome (1993: 124) observes:

> ..the current debate over *kokusaika* is likely to influence how the next generation of Japanese learn to view themselves and the rest of us....

The purpose of this study is to explore this issue, the issue of how the next generation of 'ordinary' Japanese people are learning to view themselves and the rest of the world during their three years of junior high school education, between the ages of 12 and 15.

As the study centres on ways of seeing self and others, it focuses heavily on issues of identities. The overall aim of the thesis is to explore the effects of internationalisation on the identities of Japanese junior high school students in four schools, relating the findings of empirical research to the wider field of published knowledge relevant to the topic. The first half of the thesis is devoted to discussions of existing literature, the ideas of others. The second half of the thesis turns to original investigation, the results of my own study.

Chapter 1 gives an overview of some relevant, general theories of identity, and discusses how identities are constructed and developed in various social contexts. Chapter 2 examines in greater depth ways of seeing self in the world, centring on national,

international, global and cultural identities. After drawing out the relationships between the various ways of seeing self and the world, the role of schools in developing these identities is explored.

While chapters 1 and 2 constitute a discussion of the general issues related to the study, chapters 3 and 4 deal exclusively with the situation in Japan. Chapter 3 introduces some significant ideas from major Japanese philosophical, religious and moral movements and combines them with recent theories of self in an assessment of the various influences on contemporary Japanese identities. Building on the general discussion of chapter 2 and specifities of chapter 3, chapter 4 examines Japanese identities in the nation and world, relating the contemporary situation to its historical context.

Recentring the focus of attention to schools, chapter 5 gathers the various concepts raised in the first four chapters, and outlines the chronological development of identities from infancy through to junior high school.

Chapter 6 describes the methodology used in the two-year ethnographic study of four junior high schools in northern Japan. Reasons are given for choosing ethnographic techniques to conduct fieldwork, and an explanation of procedures is combined with discussion of various methodological issues which arose during the course of the study.

Chapters 7 to 11 present, discuss and interpret data collected during the fieldwork. Chapters 7 and 8 explore some of the basic principles underlying all identities in Japan. Chapter 7 portrays the 'ideal self', underlining the importance of concepts of 人間 (*ningen*, humanity), balanced development and 'the right way'. Chapter 8 looks at some of the explicit discussions of self which appear in the data, and summarises the individual's role in the development of self. Chapter 9 examines how the individual is expected to construct and change his/her own identities. Chapters 10 and 11 turn to the highlighted issue of the development of national, international, global and cultural identities by junior high school students. Taking the themes of "self and group" and "human relations" respectively, each chapter compares and combines the four elements of Monbusho and student views in the immediate (school) and wider (national, international) contexts.

The conclusions summarise the findings of the research and draw out implications of the divergent Monbusho and student views of national and international identities for the future of internationalisation in Japanese education.

Of course, this study has limitations. Carried out using ethnographic techniques, it is small-scale. The findings are not necessarily applicable to schools in other areas of Japan, and should not be over-generalised. In addition, as pointed out above, internationalisation is advocated throughout the Japanese education system, but this study only considers the three years of junior high school. Further study in elementary and senior high schools would facilitate a wider understanding of how young Japanese people see themselves and the world they live in. Perhaps the most severe limitation, however, is the fact that this study focuses solely on internationalisation within the school. Goodman (1992: 166) notes that:

> ...accounts of other education systems are not produced in an intellectual vacuum but in an historical, political and cultural context.

It is not only the accounts, but also the education systems themselves, which are produced in this historical, political and cultural context. In Japan, internationalisation is a popular theme in many spheres of life apart from education. This thesis does not, however, tackle the relationship of internationalisation in education with internationalisation in the economic, political and social spheres. Neither does it, at individual level, deal with the issue of influences of family, media and other 'out-of-school' elements on the student's construction of national and international identities. The omission of these crucial issues limits the study, but their inclusion would have taken the study far beyond the word limit and deadline of this particular PhD. Aware of these limitations, therefore, the decision was made to concentrate on the school environment, on the junior high school stage, and on just four schools. In spite of its limitations, it is hoped that the study will provide a contribution to knowledge in an area which has, as yet, been the focus of little empirical research.

Chapter 1

Identities

In this first chapter, the focus will be on the nature and development of identities in general. Of necessity, this will be a selective survey, highlighting only research on the aspects of identity which are directly related to the topics arising from the data. Most of the research reviewed in this chapter discusses theories of Western scholars. This raises the issue of how appropriate it is to try to combine Western theories with a Japanese situation. There are two points which can be raised in defence of this approach. The first is that I am a Western person writing a Western thesis for a Western university. I prefer to make my biases explicit in the name of reflexivity than pretend to ignore them. Also, I think that the application of a certain perspective to a different situation can be valuable, providing that perspective is not seen as superior to the 'native' perspective or, worse still, the only perspective. I try to balance the Western bias, which I see as an alternative to, in no way superior to, the native Japanese perspective, by a review of research on Japanese ideas of identities in chapters 3 and 4, and by the inclusion of the work of Japanese authors wherever possible.

The second point is that, in the field of psychology at least, upon which this chapter draws heavily, most of the content studied in Japanese universities is actually based on Western researchers and their theories. In the name index of one introductory psychology textbook (岩本隆茂編 (*Iwamoto Takashige*; *ed.*), 1995: 278-279), the eight Japanese names cited (including two of the authors) paled into insignificance compared with the 121 Western names. In another psychology textbook (鈴木清編 (*Suzuki Kiyoshi*; *ed.*), 1995: 129-136) the balance was a little more even, with 195 references made to Western authors and 81 to Japanese works. Nevertheless, the dominance of Western theories in Japanese psychology is striking, and this is carried through into education. In a preparation book for examinations for the teacher licence (教員試験情報研究会 (*Research committee for information on teacher examinations*), 1996: 123-194), the psychology section is heavily weighted towards Western scholars and theories. It would, therefore, be unwise to assert that Western theories have no relevance to Japanese education. Of course, the fact that all qualified teachers have studied Western theories does not mean that their ways of acting, thinking and feeling about children conform exactly to these theories. Just as I try in this thesis to combine and compare 'Western' and 'Eastern' theories of identities in an actual school context, so many Japanese teachers probably have multiple perspectives on the issue. These multiple perspectives surely enrich rather than detract from any study of a specific situation, and so are included as a core element of this thesis.

1.1 The construction of identities

As the title of this section suggests, this thesis is written from the perspective that identities are neither acquired nor bestowed, but are actively constructed. Piaget lauded this approach with his proposal of the notion that:

> Children do not passively soak up information, but select and interpret what they see, hear and feel in the world around them. (Giddens 1989: 73)

Moreover, identities cannot be constructed in an individual vacuum, but are socially constructed. This concept can be found in its early form in the work of Berger & Luckmann (1966: 183), who develop the argument that:

> In the dialectic between nature and the socially constructed world the human organism itself is transformed. In this same dialectic man produces reality and thereby produces himself.

The concepts introduced here of a subjective world created through dialogue and dialectic are crucial to a number of contemporary movements in the fields of sociology and social psychology. Two such movements which have developed theories of identity are the symbolic interactionist movement and the social constructivist movement. Directly arising from the work of Berger & Luckmann, social constructionism proposes that:

> selves are not there to be found, but are constructed in the process of social interaction. (Honess, 1992: 103)

Similarly, as Hewitt (1994: 7) explains, symbolic interactionism is based on the premise that:

> The reality of the world is not merely something that is "out there" waiting to be discovered by us, but is actively created as we act in and toward the world.

Both approaches imply that identities are constructed through action and interaction with others in the world. This forms a contrast to the psychological 'received view', in the West at least, of the achievement of a centralised, individual identity which is acquired through childhood and adolescence (e.g. Erikson 1968) and then remains constant and consistent over time and situation.

1.2 Changing identities

If identities are constantly being constructed by the individual, then it is natural to accept that they can change and develop. The case for changing identities is presented by Fitzgerald (1993: 188), in this comment:

> When it comes to learning new knowledge, human beings have an enormous capacity for growth and adaptation. As we open ourselves to new awareness, adjusting the self accordingly, our identities become increasingly flexible. Identity, after all, is uniquely human - potentially adaptive and transformative for those who accept the challenges of growing beyond previous expectations.

The notion of "adjusting the self" is one which is central to this thesis. Self-adjustment and self-transformation are key features of the research of Rothbaum and Weisz (Rothbaum, Weisz & Snyder 1982, Weisz, Rothbaum & Blackburn 1984a, 1984b) on the development of primary and secondary control. The basic definitions of primary and secondary control are given in an article by Weisz, Eastman & McCarty (1996: 64):

> In *primary control*, the form of control most commonly referred to in the psychological literature, people strive to gain control by bringing the environment or objective events into line with their wishes. In *secondary control*... people may strive to exert control by bringing themselves into harmony with prevailing environmental conditions and events in ways that make those conditions and events more rewarding or less punishing.

In their first article, Rothbaum, Weisz and Snyder (1982: 28) imply that primary control is more desirable than secondary control, claiming that:

> People seeking secondary control are typically persons who have experienced recurring prior failure or chronic disabilities.

In the second article (Weisz, Rothbaum & Blackburn 1984a), it is recognised that this is a culturally-biased view. The modified argument is that secondary control is an alternative to, rather than second-rate to, primary control, and the point is made (Weisz, Rothbaum & Blackburn 1984a: 956) that:

> individuals who have been led to perceive primary control as relatively undesirable or unseemly may emphasize secondary control more than individuals taught to regard primary control as desirable and appropriate. This reasoning suggests an important possibility: The manner in which people blend primary and secondary control may be influenced by their cultural milieu.

The authors identify Japan as an example of a country where secondary control is considered more desirable and appropriate than primary control. This notion is

supported by Azuma (1984: 971), who highlights the multifarious forms of secondary control encouraged in Japanese society, and by Kojima (1984: 972), who introduces the idea that primary control may also be exhibited in different ways in Japanese society than those portrayed by Weisz and Rothbaum.

As well as being presented in different forms, a point which should be stressed is that primary and secondary control can be interpreted as serving different purposes. The definition given above by Weisz, Eastman & McCarty (1996: 64) suggests that secondary control is activated to make environmental conditions more rewarding or less punishing. The emphasis on rewards and punishments implies the assumption of a "morality of duty". This concept is defined and contrasted with a "morality of aspiration" by Hamilton et al. (1989: 46):

> A morality of duty refers, as the name suggests, to rules and norms that keep us in line: minimal standards that must be met or punishments will ensue... A morality of aspiration, in contrast, refers to goals and standards that keep us moving forward, reaching, seeking to do our best.

The study by Hamilton et al. finds that a morality of aspiration is actually emphasised in Japanese classrooms over a morality of duty. This finding does not undermine Weisz et al.'s basic concept of secondary control, but it does imply that their ultimate rationale for secondary control, "to make conditions and events more rewarding or less punishing", may not be wholly appropriate. With this reservation in mind, the concepts of primary and secondary control are ones which will be referred to frequently in the thesis as an important aspect of identity for junior high school students.

1.3 Multiple and social identities

The view of identities as constructed and changing allows for flexible, multiple identities. The description given by Hermans, Kempem & van Loon (1992: 28) captures the essence of multiple identities:

> ...we contextualise the self in terms of a dynamic multiplicity of actively autonomous *I* positions in an imaginal landscape. In its most concise form this conception can be formulated as follows. The *I* has the possibility to move, as a space, from one position to the other in accordance with changes in situation and time. The *I* fluctuates among different and even opposed positions.

The concept of multiple identities is based on the notion of a situationally, relationally flexible self. Such a circumstantionally-based notion throws into question the distinction which has often been made between personal identity and social identity (e.g.

Tajfel 1981, Breakwell 1983, Hewitt 1994). As Wetherell (1996: 40) points out, such a distinction may be useful analytically, but is rarely so clear-cut in real life:

> ...one's experience of a social identity (say that of being a member of a profession or sect) will affect personality and character and one's identity as a unique individual. One's personal identity, conversely, will have contributed to one's choice of social identities or the personal way in which a social identity is acted out.

This leads to the revised concept that all identities are personal, and all identities are social. The social aspect of identity is emphasised by Burkitt (1994: 20):

> ..it is from within the mesh of our interdependence with other human beings that our own self-identity is produced.

The idea of flexible, social identities does not mean that each identity has to be constructed from scratch. Each individual has a basis to work from, defined by Bourdieu (1977: 82) as a habitus:

> ..a *habitus*, understood as a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a *matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions* and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks, thanks to analogical transfers of schemes permitting the solution of similarly shaped problems, and thanks to the unceasing corrections of the results obtained, dialectically produced by those results...

As Bourdieu suggests, the habitus, an ever-increasing foundation of previously constructed identities and experiences, is always open to change and adaptation. As such, it is the basis upon which new identities can be constructed. Duru-Bellat & Henriot-van Zanten (1992: 77) expand upon this aspect of Bourdieu's concept:

> ..Bourdieu cite volontiers l'exemple du bon joueur, qui est à la fois contraint par les règles du jeu, qu'il a interiorisées, et libre en ce sens qu'il sait sur cette base inventer toutes les stratégies qu'exige la partie.

The concept of multiple, social identities incorporates this element of invention, in that it recognises the individual's ability to adapt and change the self according to the situation and to the other. Such a concept of identity is isochronously socially-oriented and highly personalised. It is social in that it cannot exist without the presence (real or imagined) of specific social circumstances and other people. As Berger (1963: 118) notes:

> One cannot be human all by oneself and, apparently, one cannot hold on to any particular identity all by oneself.

At the same time, the ability to shift between multiple identities requires personal flexibility, construction and inventiveness.

The position taken in this thesis, then, is that the individual constructs multiple, flexible identities which shift according to the situation and to the other. These identities are simultaneously personal and social, and the false distinction between these two terms is collapsed in recognition of the fact that they are coexistent and inseparable.

1.4 Primary, secondary and tertiary socialisation

The basic idea of socialisation is that a new-born baby somehow becomes a competent member of society. Berger & Luckmann (1966: 129) state the case:

> The individual is not born a member of society. He is born with a disposition toward sociality, and he becomes a member of society.

Although the basic idea has remained constant, theories of socialisation have evolved and changed over the years. Until the late 1960s and early 1970s, two approaches prevailed, as described by Feinman & Lewis (1991). According to Freud's psychoanalytic theory, the child is full of instinctive drives which put him/her in opposition to society. Socialisation is thus conceived as a taming process, designed to control the child and make him/her conform to society's expectations. In contrast, Watson's behaviourist theory was of a good child, who needed only to be moulded in the correct manner to conform to society. Feinman & Lewis (1991: 2) point out the common thread in these two models:

> ..both the conflict model espoused in Freud's psychoanalytic theory and the clay-molding model represented in Watson's behaviorist approach share the common view that, ultimately, the socialization process will accomplish its intended goal, that of modifying and "civilising" the infant's behavior. There is virtually no sense of positive commitment by the infant to the socialization process in either model.

In these theories, the adult knows all, and the process of socialisation is a process of training the child in appropriate behaviour. Challenges to the behaviourist and psychoanalytic approaches began to appear in the late 1960s. The major challenge was that of the constructivist approach, which argues that the child is a more active agent in the socialisation process. The contemporary view of socialisation is epitomised by Gidden's (1989: 60) definition:

> Socialization is the process whereby the helpless infant gradually becomes a self-aware, knowledgeable person, skilled in the ways of the

> culture into which she or he is born. Socialization is not a kind of 'cultural programming', in which the child absorbs passively the influences with which he or she comes into contact. Even the most recent new-born infant has needs or demands that affect the behaviour of those responsible for its care.

The infant has come to be seen not only as a committed participant in the process of his/her own socialisation, but also as an active socialiser of his/her care-givers.

The next issue is the content of socialisation. There are obviously variations from culture to culture, from group to group and from individual to individual in the precise content and method of the socialisation process. Nevertheless, generalisations such as those made by Hendry (1987: 38) are applicable to any culture or group:

> Socialisation is the means by which an essentially biological being is converted into a social one, able to communicate with other members of the particular society to which it belongs. A child learns to perceive the world through language, spoken and unspoken, through ritual enacted, and through the total symbolic system which structures and constrains that world. Through socialisation a child learns to classify the world in which it lives, and to impose a system of values upon it.

To paraphrase Hendry, the content of socialisation and the basic foundations of identity construction are learning how to act (enact ritual), how to speak (language), how to see (perceive), how to think (classify) and how to feel (impose a system of values) in the world. These are the themes which run through any process of socialisation but, to turn from content to development, the rest of this section will deal with the three main arenas of socialisation, namely, primary, secondary and tertiary.

Primary socialisation, although crucial as the first and probably most influential form of socialisation, can be summarised briefly as the socialisation which takes place in the first few years of life, usually in the family. It is in this context, during these years, that the foundations of gender, cultural, class, ethnic, religious, family and possibly national and many other identities are laid down. In Bourdieu's (1977: 87) terms, primary socialisation is "the habitus acquired in the family", and he goes on to argue that this habitus shapes all future experiences and individual structuring of those experiences.

Secondary socialisation is contrasted to primary socialisation by Berger & Luckmann (1966: 130) through the following definition:

> Secondary socialization is any subsequent process that inducts an already socialized individual into new sectors of the objective world of his society.

For a child, the most obvious arena of secondary socialisation is the school. Incorporating Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction in schools, Duru-Bellat & Henriot-van Zanten (1992: 123) explain:

> ...le curriculum transmet aussi des schemes de pensée, qui déterminent la manière dont les individus formés 'à même école' vont lire et traiter la réalité. A travers des automatismes de raisonnement ou de vocabulaire, ou de grilles pour résoudre les problèmes, l'école dote les élèves d'un mode de fonctionnement intellectuel commun qui permettra communication et reconnaissance sur la base d'un 'sens commun' qui constitue 'l''habitus cultivé' d'une époque (Bourdieu, 1967)

Of course, it is not solely through the curriculum that secondary socialisation develops, although this is undoubtedly important for the construction of identities. Teachers encourage the socialisation of students in appropriate ways to act and speak as a pupil, as a boy/girl, as a member of a specific national/cultural group etc.. Peer-socialisation is another vital aspect of school, leading to the development of possible identities as a sports club member, as a leader, as a rebel and so on. Ethnographic accounts of educational settings are replete with such examples of secondary socialisation in various cultures and countries (e.g. Willis 1977, Ball 1981, Rohlen 1983, Peak 1991, Watkins & Biggs (eds.) 1996, Lau (ed.) 1996).

Beyond primary and secondary socialisation is the concept of tertiary socialisation. In embryonic form, this concept appears in Berger & Luckmann (1966: 130), although it is not named as such, neither is it developed as an idea. Following definitions of primary and secondary socialisation, the text continues:

> We may leave aside here the special question of the acquisition of knowledge about the objective world of societies other than the one of which we first became a member, and the process of internalizing such a world as reality - a process that exhibits, at least superficially, certain similarities with both primary and secondary socialization, yet is structurally identical with neither.

Although Berger & Luckmann leave this question hanging, it has been developed further in the context of research on foreign language learning. Byram (1990: 5) defines and explores the scope and boundaries of tertiary socialisation:

> Foreign language teaching can be a major factor in what might be called - as an extension of the notions of primary and secondary socialisation - tertiary socialisation, in which young people acquire an intercultural communicative competence: the ability to establish a community of meanings across cultural boundaries. This does not mean that the learner must become a native of the other language and culture - which is neither possible nor necessarily desirable - but that she/he can perceive their own

> and the other culture from the perspective of the other speaker. This involves both cognitive and affective psychological processes.

The idea of tertiary socialisation as it can be developed through school education in the native culture is further developed by Doyé (1992). Doyé subdivides the concept of tertiary socialisation into the three aspects of "kognitive Sozialisation", "moralische Sozialisation" and "Sozialisation als Erwerb von Handlungskompetenz", emphasising the broad nature of tertiary socialisation in encompassing many aspects of self. However, the link between tertiary socialisation and the development of self and identity is most clearly stated by Byram (1992: 11):

> Tertiary socialisation is not merely the acquisition of tolerance of differentness and otherness. It requires a modification of learners' existing modes of thinking and acting... It takes learners beyond the concept of national identity and national culture and opens a perspective which is dependent on neither native nor foreign culture.

In other words, tertiary socialisation, like primary and secondary socialisation before it, is a pathway along which individuals can change their selves and construct new identities.

1.5 Summary

This chapter has briefly introduced some of the concepts of identity which are pertinent to the topic in question. The view taken in this thesis is that identities are constructed by the individual through interaction with others. As these identities are socially constructed, they have to be flexible and adaptable to the situation and to the other. This leads to the related concepts of multiple identities and the lifelong development of identities. Furthermore, the individual has the power to change his/her own identities to adapt to the circumstances through secondary control.

These concepts of identities shape the view of socialisation. Children are seen as active participants in their own socialisation and the socialisation of those around them. Socialisation is conceived of as a tripartite process involving increasingly complex and wide arenas and identities. Primary socialisation is limited mainly to the immediate family circle, and is crucial in the development of basic identities. Secondary socialisation widens the circle to the school (and other institutions and/or secondary environments), and introduces a new range of identities. Tertiary socialisation, which has as yet been the subject of little research, extends the circle still further, beyond the confines of the nation and on to the world stage. Identities in this widest and most complex circle will be the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 2

National, international, global and cultural identities

In his book on the political life of children, Coles (1986: 310) observes that:

> A nation's politics becomes a child's everyday psychology.

This observation could be applied not only to the nation, but also to the international and world spheres. In this chapter, attention switches from identities in general to the specific issue of national, international, global and cultural identities. Definitions of each of these identities will be given. The elements and development of each identity at individual level will be discussed, and some of the links between the various identities will be examined. In the final part of the chapter, the role of schools in the development of these identities will be considered.

2.1 National and cultural identities

> As soon as we are born, in most places on this earth, we acquire a nationality, a membership in a community. Our names, often enough, are recorded in a roll, made part of a government's records. The infant knows nothing of this event, but the parents certainly are aware of it, and what they know and feel, as citizens, as subjects, as comrades, is communicated to a child in the first years of life. (Coles 1986: 59)

This quote illustrates the pervasiveness of national identity in the contemporary world, but the phenomenon of national identity is actually a recent one. This is because the concept of the nation-state has a relatively short history, appearing in preliminary form in the sixteenth century (Wallerstein 1991: 92), and becoming widespread only in the early nineteenth century (Calhoun 1993, Eriksen 1993).

With a history of under two hundred years, therefore, national identity is a relative newcomer to the various social identities constructed by the individual in society. Nevertheless, it has gained such prominence that Smith (1991: 70) claims that:

> Today national identity is the main form of collective identification. Whatever the feelings of individuals, it provides the dominant criterion of culture and identity, the sole principle of government and the chief focus of social and economic activity.

Smith's claims may appear extravagant, but they are supported by Greenfeld (1996: 10), who remarks that:

> In the modern world, national identity represents what may be called the "fundamental identity", the one that is believed to define the very essence of the individual, which the other identities may modify but slightly, and to which they are consequently considered secondary.

Having defined the status of national identity, a definition of its nature becomes necessary. It is difficult to find a clear, comprehensive definition of national identity.

Most scholars distinguish between various types of national identity. Two of the most illuminating models have been developed by Smith (1991) and Kellas (1991). Smith suggests two models of national identity; a civic-territorial model (or Western) model, and an ethnic-genealogical (or non-western) model. The Western model emphasises territory, a legal-political community, a common culture and a common civic ideology. This is contrasted to the non-western model, in which priority is given to common descent, ethnicity and blood ties. In the latter model, national identity can be fully retained outside the territory of the nation and, conversely, an outsider can never become part of the nation. Smith (1991: 11) portrays the imagery of this kind of national identity:

> the nation can trace its roots to an imputed common ancestry and... therefore its members are brothers and sisters, or at least cousins, differentiated by family ties from outsiders.

Smith points out that the two models are not complete contrasts, but have many similarities. Nevertheless, his distinction between Western and Eastern types of national identity (and nationalism) has been refuted by Arnason (1990), who argues that the geographical division is untenable. Arnason (1990: 231) states that:

> The supposedly Western and Eastern types are... complementary sides and alternative directions of every nationalism.

Kellas (1991) replaces geographical boundaries by the three categories of ethnic, social and official nationalism. Ethnic nationalism is very similar to Smith's ethnic-genealogical category, in that national identity is based on blood ties and common descent, and is exclusive. Social nationalism is defined by Kellas (1991: 15) as:

> the nationalism of a nation which defines itself by social ties and culture rather than by common descent.

In this case a shared community, culture and national identity are promoted, but outsiders can join if they identify with the nation and adopt its culture. Official nationalism, the third type, is defined as:

> the nationalism of the state, encompassing all those legally entitled to be citizens, irrespective of their ethnicity, national identity and culture.

Kellas' official nationalism is contained within Smith's civic-territorial model, with his social nationalism being contained in both of Smith's models. In both sets of models, there is a political element to national identity (official, civic-territorial identity) and there is a cultural element to national identity. The link between national and cultural

identity will be examined in greater detail in the next section. In the meantime, theories of the formation of national identity will be summarised.

According to Bloom (1990), who applies identification theory from social psychology to international relations, national identity is the result of a group of people undergoing a psychological process of making an identification with the nation. He clearly separates the sense of national identity from the objective concept of the nation, explaining (1990: 52) that:

> *National identity* describes that condition in which a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols - have internalised the symbols of the nation - so that they may act as one psychological group when there is a threat to, or the possibility of enhancement of, these symbols of national identity.

Bloom uses the works of Freud, Mead, Erikson, Parsons and Habermas on identification to claim that national identity is an extension of stable personal identity, which is necessary for a sense of psychological security and well-being. This extension of personal identity to national and other identities is a concept which will feature as important in the data chapters. As in the development of personal identity (Erikson 1968), identification with significant others is complemented by differentiation from others to form national identity. The importance of differentiation in forming national identity has been drawn out by many authors (e.g. Featherstone 1995, Calhoun 1993). It is perhaps most eloquently described by Hall (1991: 21), in his description of the formation of an English identity:

> To be English is to know yourself in relation to the French, and the hot-blooded Mediterraneans, and the passionate, traumatized Russian soul. You go round the entire globe: when you know what everyone else is, then you are what they are not. Identity is always, in that sense, a structured representation which only achieves its positive through the narrow eye of the negative. It has to go through the narrow eye of the needle of the other before it can construct itself.

This quote, although it relates specifically to national identity, is an echo of the statement by Mussen et al. (1984: 320), in relation to the development of personal identity in childhood, that:

> we form our concepts of ourselves partly by observing others and comparing ourselves with them.

It seems, then, that although national identity may be a relative newcomer to the individual's spectrum of social identities, it is constructed in a similar fashion, and as an

extension of, other identities. Although different researchers propose various models of national identity, it appears that all the models contain some reference to an identity based on shared territory (political/geographical sphere), shared culture and community (cultural/social sphere) and shared descent (ethnic sphere). For the individual, national identity involves recognition, acceptance and a sense of belonging in one, two or all of these three spheres. Of the three spheres, the political/geographical and the ethnic spheres are generally the most clearly defined, although they may still be problematic. In the cultural/social sphere, however, the overlap (and/or conflict) between national identity and cultural identity is not so easily observable.

The existence of a relationship between cultural identity and national identity is presumed by most researchers, but is seldom made explicit or examined closely. Kellas' (1991: 67) connection of the two is typical:

> Nationality and culture are almost synonymous. This is because both include a sense of social identity, a language, education, religion, the arts, science and so on.

This vague statement treating nationality (national identity?) and culture as "almost synonymous" is over-generalised. The rationale given for the statement is even more dubious. Although language is often critical in a sense of cultural identity, it is not a prerequisite. Neither is religion necessarily an aspect of nationality or national identity. National and cultural identities cannot be assumed to be synonymous.

Nevertheless, there is no denying that there is a link between national identity and cultural identity, as is clear from the definitions of national identity discussed earlier in this section. I would argue that the strength of this link varies according to the individual's situation. In general, it is likely that there would be a large overlap of cultural and national identity for individuals who form part of the majority group of the nation, and less overlap in cases where the individual is part of a minority group. It may be that the two spheres reach their greatest point of contiguity in a country where cultural and ethnic homogeneity are supposed, and cultural and national identity are promulgated as coalescent.

So the relation between national and cultural identity varies according to the individual, according to the position of the individual's cultural and/or ethnic groups in the nation, and according to the nation itself. The question which remains is, "What *is* cultural identity?". A definition which is both concise and clear has been proposed by Brock and Tulasiewicz (1985: 4):

> In abstract terms, cultural identity is the internalized cultural consciousness - an identification with a distinct concept of reality, accepted by virtue of participation in it.

This definition of cultural identity, as a concept of reality constructed through participation in that reality, is very different from Kellas' (1991: 67) definition, quoted above. Kellas seems to argue that cultural identity is the sum of various elements; language plus religion plus arts plus education and so on. In contrast, Brock and Tulasiewicz imply that cultural identity is a world view, constructed and developed by the individual in interaction with others. In this case, language, religion and so on help to shape and bound a certain world-view, but they do not directly constitute cultural identity. This latter view accords closely with the constructivist theories discussed in chapter 1.

If cultural identity is interpreted in this manner, as a constructed world-view, then the nature of its relationship to national identity becomes a little clearer. Cultural identity is the foundation upon which national identity is constructed. At the macro-level, Schudson (1994: 65) recognises this when he argues that:

> nation-states cannot be understood, or even defined, apart from their achievement of some degree of cultural identity.

Cultural identity is a prerequisite for national identity, but the reverse is not necessarily true. This is a point supported by Smith (1991: 99), when he writes that:

> what we mean by national identity comprises both a cultural and political identity and is located in a political community as well as a cultural one.

Smith's definition suggests a formula which could be written as follows:

cultural identity + *political identity* = *national identity*

where:

cultural identity = a certain world view / a concept of reality and a way of being within that reality.

political identity = a concept of political ideas and their application to the particular cultural 'reality' constructed.

Although this formula is appealing for its simplicity, I think a more precise definition, for members of the majority cultural group of a nation, at least, might be the following:

national identity is the result of the action of political identity on cultural identity.

Rather than a simple addition, I think that national identity involves the honing of cultural identity to particular political ideals, attitudes, values and practice. In this process, aspects of cultural identity are not added to political ideas, but are qualitatively changed. Specific aspects of cultural identity may be vested with positive or negative attitudes, and emphasis may be given to or withdrawn from one or other aspect. This

qualitative altering of cultural identity to adapt to specific political values and attitudes forms the basis of national identity, and is developed by the individual in his/her ways of acting and speaking, ways of thinking and seeing, and ways of feeling as a member of a particular nation. This is the definition of national identity which will be used through the rest of this thesis.

2.2 International and intercultural identities

There are two discrete stages in the development of international and intercultural identities. The first, to appropriate Hannerz's (1990: 241) use of the image, is the stage of 'national and cultural identity plus' - national identity plus a qualification in foreign languages, cultural identity plus a trip abroad, and so on. Defined in this sense, the function of international and intercultural identities is to reinforce rather than to provide alternatives to national and cultural identities. Hofstede (1991: 237) gives a positive appraisal of this function:

> Successful intercultural encounters presuppose that the partners believe in their own values. If not, they have become alienated persons, lacking a sense of identity. A sense of identity provides the feeling of security from which one can encounter other cultures with an open mind. The principle of surviving in a multicultural world is that one does not need to think, feel, and act in the same way in order to agree on practical issues and to cooperate.

The implicit assumption here is that identity equals national and monocultural identity, even in contact with people of different cultures and nations. These opportunities to encounter other cultures and people are an essential stage in the development of international and intercultural identities, although they do not automatically have to be personal encounters. The media, education and other forms of indirect contact can also provide opportunities to gain knowledge and understanding of other nations and cultures. What Hofstede does not recognise, apart from the mention of "an open mind", is any notion that an understanding of the other culture's values and world-view is important. In this first stage, the world is an extension to the native national and cultural identities, seen through the lens of established mononational and monocultural views and attitudes. The existing ways of acting, speaking, thinking, seeing and feeling are not threatened, neither do they change.

This parallels the development of personal identities in early childhood. First of all, there are echoes of Piaget's observations that the new-born infant does not distinguish

between him/herself and other people (Kohlberg 1987: 224). As Bee & Mitchell (1984: 211) write:

> For the infant, the first step in developing a self-concept must be to understand that he is a separate and distinct entity.

They go on to assert that this sense of separateness is formed through interactions with others, just as the individual's sense of international/intercultural identity is formed primarily through interactions with outsiders. In the same way that the infant realises that other people have an independent identity and existence, so the individual realises that other nations and cultures have an independent identity and existence.

Even after realising the independent existence of others, the young child still has a view of the world which is predominantly egocentric. As Wadsworth (1989: 69) observes, in a summary of Piaget's theories of the preoperational child:

> He (or she) believes that everyone thinks the same way as he does and that everyone thinks the same things he does. As a result, the child never questions his own thoughts because they are, as far as he is concerned, the only thoughts possible and consequently must be correct.

There are clear similarities to be drawn here with the development of international and intercultural identities. At the early stage, the individual holds the ways of thinking of his/her nation and culture. These are often not questioned as they are accepted as absolute truth.

It is as the individual develops that s/he, like the child, realises that different ways of thinking, seeing and feeling are possible. The subsequent self-reflection and understanding leads to a relativisation of the individual's own sense of national and cultural identity. This second stage of international and intercultural identity is identified by Meyer (1991) in his three stage model of levels of intercultural performance. From the initial "monocultural" level, students progress to the second "intercultural" level, explained (Meyer 1991: 142) in these terms:

> The learner is able to explain cultural differences between his own and the foreign cultures because he can make use of the information he has acquired concerning his and the foreign countries, or because he is able to ask for information in relation to cross-cultural differences. The information he has may be of historical, sociological, psychological or economic nature, etc. Putting it metaphorically, one could say that the learner stands between the cultures.

Meyer agrees with Hofstede that the individual must have information concerning (and, implicitly, an understanding of the values of) her/his own culture/nation. In addition,

though, the individual needs to be able to explain cultural differences between the native and foreign cultures. In order to do this, as Meyer points out, the individual needs a fund of historical, sociological, psychological and economic knowledge. However, this knowledge alone is insufficient to explain cultural differences. The individual must also have an understanding of what the members of the culture do with this knowledge, how they interpret it, and what it means to them. In other words, there is a need to be able to see the world from the perspective of native members of the foreign culture. The leap from being able to see the world from the viewpoint of one's own nation/culture to being able to see the world from the viewpoint of another nation/ culture is a significant one. It requires the ability to decentre and see one's own nation/ culture from the outside, at the same time as empathising, or seeing the other culture from the inside. Empathy in this sense is defined by Brown (1987: 107) as:

> reaching beyond the self and understanding and feeling what another person is understanding and feeling.

Empathy thus requires the ability to experience the ways of thinking, seeing and feeling of people of a different culture. It does not, however, demand agreement with and approval of the other. Empathising with an 'outsider' does not mean becoming that person or adopting their national and cultural identities. Notwithstanding, the understanding of the outsider may mean challenges and alterations to the individual's existing national and cultural identities.

Although both of these stages contribute to the development of international and intercultural identities, then, they are very different. The first stage requires the ability to look out to the world from the perspective of one's native nation and culture. The second stage requires the ability to look at the world and one's native nation and culture from the perspective of a foreign nation or culture.

2.3 Global and transcultural identities

Globalisation, as Albrow (1993: 248) notes, is a term which only came into use in the 1980s to describe the concept of the population of the world being bonded into a single society. Corollaries of globalisation are the ideas of global culture and global identity. For some, global culture and the identity it would engender are characterised by ideas of superficiality and artificiality. For example, Smith (1995: 24) asserts that:

> a timeless global culture answers to no living needs and conjures no memories. If memory is central to identity, we can discern no global

> identity in-the-making, nor aspirations for one, nor any collective amnesia to replace existing 'deep' cultures with a cosmopolitan 'flat' culture.

Smith's argument reflects the anxiety that a global culture and identity would signal an end to the variety of cultures currently in existence. This point is refuted by Featherstone (1990: 1):

> It is... misleading to conceive a global culture as necessarily entailing a weakening of the sovereignty of nation-states which, under the impetus of some form of teleological evolutionism or other master logic, will necessarily become absorbed into larger units and eventually a world state which produces cultural homogeneity and integration.

So, if a global culture is not an artificial concept or an overgrown national culture, what is it? Two scholars of globalisation who have offered insights which are applicable to global identity are Featherstone and Robertson. They both deal with cultures at the collective rather than the individual level, which leads to some over-generalisation and over-simplification. Nevertheless, ideas which are relevant to the development of global identity at the individual level can be gleaned from their work.

Robertson's (1991: 77) definition of globalisation is this:

> we may best consider contemporary globalization in its most general sense as a form of institutionalization of the two-fold process involving the universalization of particularism and the particularization of universalism.

Applied, as Robertson intended it, to the globalisation of practices, ideas and knowledge, this concept is unproblematic. Applied to identity, it could be read in two ways. The first is an extension of the second stage of international identity. The individual's world-view is projected on the rest of the world (universalising the particular) and is altered by the growing understanding of the world (particularising the universal). Although this may be a pathway towards global identity, it is not a satisfactory definition of global identity in the sense I would like to use the term. The second reading, by contrast, *is* a definition of global identity. One dimension of global identity is that it takes 'humanness', rather than nationality or cultural identification, as its basic unit of definition. In so doing, it is simultaneously global and personal, encompassing the entire human race while retaining a high level of individualism. Paradoxically, then, globalisation combines the smallest and largest units of identity. Individual and global identity are both governed by the factor of humanness. It is in this sense that Robertson's (1991: 77) definition of globalisation, as the particularisation of the universal and the universalisation of the particular, can also be read as a definition of global identity.

Featherstone's (1995) ideas of globalisation also offer insights into global identity. Of several definitions proposed by Featherstone, one (1995: 114) is based on the following premise:

> we can talk about a global culture in... the sense that the globe is a finite, knowable bounded space, a field into which all nation-states and collectivities will inevitably be drawn. Here the globe, the planet earth, acts both as a limit and as the common bounded space on which our encounters and practices are inevitably grounded.

In other words, the unit of definition becomes the globe, rather than the individual nations and cultures it contains. This notion of transcending individual nations and cultures appears also in Meyer's (1991:143) 'transcultural' stage:

> The learner is able to evaluate intercultural differences and to solve intercultural problems by appeal to principles of international co-operation and communication which give each culture its proper right and which allow the learner to develop his own identity *in the light of* cross-cultural understanding. He is able to negotiate meaning where meaning is possible. Speaking metaphorically, one can say that the learner stands above both his own and the foreign culture, but it should be clear that this does not mean a 'cosmopolitan neglect' of his own culture.

If the above definitions of transcultural identity as standing above two (or more) cultures and global identity as trans-societal are accepted, then the ravine between these identities on the one hand, and international and intercultural identities on the other hand, becomes clear. International and intercultural identities are views of the world (albeit open, malleable views) from within the parameters of a particular, native or foreign, nation or culture. Global and transcultural identities are views of the nation/culture from a world perspective. This global identity is not necessarily, as Smith (1995: 24) describes, artificial and superficial. The richness, depth and complexity of cultures and nations are recognised and upheld. The world is the same. The significant factor is that global identity involves approaching the same world from an alternative perspective. The person with a global or transcultural world-view does not see the world through the lens of any particular national or cultural identity, but through the eyes of a world citizen.

An individual may construct some or all of the identities discussed so far in this chapter. The identities which are foremost at any one time depend on the situation and relationships within the situation. At any one time, certain identities take precedence over others for the individual, but others still exist. This notion of multiple identities

(see section 1.3), and the ability to switch fluidly between them, is an important one in discussion of national, cultural and international identities. As Hobsbawm (1996: 1067) remarks:

> The concept of a *single*, exclusive, and unchanging ethnic or cultural or other identity is a dangerous piece of brainwashing. Human mental identities are not like shoes, of which we can only wear one pair at a time.

In any particular situation, the individual, consciously or unconsciously, comes to face crossroads where s/he is faced with three (or more) options. These options, which affect the future development of identity, are the following:

1. to "turn off", reacting against international and intercultural influences, which are perceived as a threat to existing identity. Featherstone (1995: 114) describes this as a reaction which:

> can lead to heightened attempts to draw the boundaries between the self and others. From this perspective the changes which are taking place as a result of the current phase of intensified globalization can be understood as provoking reactions that seek to rediscover particularity, localism and difference which generate a sense of the limits of the culturally unifying, ordering and integrating projects associated with Western modernity.

This turn at the crossroads represents a retreat into familiarity and a rejection of the challenges posed by international and intercultural identity.

2. to go "straight on" along the continuum of international and intercultural identities. This option requires the individual to increase his/her understanding of foreign cultures and nations. At the same time, at the later stage of international and intercultural identity, the individual must accept challenges to the self, and must be prepared to reflect on the self and change as necessary. Melucci's (1995: 140) comments on multiculturalism are equally applicable to interculturalism:

> in order to meet otherness, one needs to change form. We cannot communicate or relate to differences by simply staying ourselves. In the issue of multi-culturalism, which implies some capacity and will to meet the 'other', there is a profound moral implication: the necessity to keep and to lose, to cope with fears and resistances, but also with the ability of going beyond our given identities.

The threats and resistance which govern the first option are overcome to develop and extend the self. In this way, the individual's identities are gradually transformed, but the parameters of identity are still those of the nation or the culture.

3. to "turn off", this time in the direction of global and transcultural identities. This option, as described in this section, demands detachment from the perspective of a single (native or foreign) nation or culture, and construction of a world perspective.

Of course, people have many identities and, depending on the situation, one identity may prevail over another. One person may have elements of all the identities outlined in this chapter. For example, national identity may emerge as support for the UK in the Olympics. In dealings with friends and acquaintances from other countries, international identity may prevail. In an international meeting of experts on the environment, the emphasis may be on global identity. For any individual, one identity may take precedence most of the time, or there may be a more equal balance. Using the image sketched out above, identity construction can be conceptualised as a long series of minor crossroads. At each junction, there is a choice of direction, but there is no obligation to turn the same way each time. Whatever image is used, the important point, as Featherstone (1995: 9) notes, remains that:

> In contrast to the assimilation, or melting pot, models which worked off strong insider/ outsider divisions in which identity was seen as fixed, today there is a greater acknowledgement that people can live happily with multiple identities.

2.4 Schools and national, international, global and cultural identities

In chapter 1, the notion of the school as an arena of secondary socialisation and development of identities was introduced. This section continues the same line of examination, turning the spotlight to the role of the school in facilitating the development of the identities discussed so far in this chapter. The first part of the section will focus on the development of national and cultural identities in schools, and the second part will look at the development of international, intercultural, global and transcultural identities.

The idea of education for national identity emerged in parallel with the notion of nationally centralised mass education, and the concept of the nation as a point of reference for identity. This phenomenon of national systems of education emerged during the nineteenth century in most European countries and in Japan. The content of these national systems of education is rarely, if ever, the value-free transmission of knowledge. To a greater or lesser extent, in any country, the values of the nation are

also part of the education of young people. Cowen (1996: 158) labels these values "moral messages", and claims that:

> The moral messages insisted on by the state have to do, in the modern educational system, with the formation of the citizen and the construction of political loyalty and correct modes of civic behaviour... The moral messages have to do with the formation of a common political identity. Minorities are thus a problem - and at worst a nuisance, particularly when they insist on retaining access to their own language or their own cultural history or their own religion through the state-provided educational system.

The final point is a significant one, highlighting the relationship between national and cultural identities, and deserves attention in its own right. However, since this thesis does not deal primarily with minority cultural groups, comment here will be limited to the point that nations tend to favour the development of the identity of the most powerful cultural group in the nation through the education system.

National control of education, and the transmission of national values and the moral messages of the dominant cultural group, are often assured through the implementation of a national curriculum of education. The comments of Nick Tate on the National Curriculum of England and Wales (quoted in Carrington & Short 1995: 220) illustrate this point clearly:

> The proposals for British history, Standard English and the English literary heritage are designed to reinforce a common culture. A national curriculum, we imply, is more than simply a recipe for meeting economic needs, vital though these are; it is more than just the means to facilitate the infinitely varied life choices of collections of isolated individuals. It also plays a key part in helping society maintain its identity. (Tate 1994: 5)

As Tate implies, two of the major areas of the curriculum which can be used to nurture national and majority cultural identity are language and history. Standard language can be used to strengthen national and majority cultural identity in two directions. Looking outwards, the national language distinguishes its members from the members of other nations. Looking inwards, the national standard language takes precedence over regional and social dialects, and over the languages of minority linguistic groups. The role of education in both spheres is of vital importance. A similar observation can be made in the teaching of national history, national geography and other similar subjects. The view of the world (looking outward) is usually from a national perspective and, similarly, the view of constituent regions and cultures of the nations (looking inward) is from a national emic, rather than regional/cultural emic perspective.

These are the supposedly 'factual' or value-free subjects. Other areas of national education policy (and/or national curricula) often deal with explicitly value-led subjects. The expectations of education in promoting national/cultural values are illustrated in the following comments by Hussin (1996: 2), in a paper discussing the introduction of a national curriculum of values into the Malaysian school curriculum:

> ...the Malaysian public in 1988 generally felt that schools were responsible in molding a morally good society and, thus, must educate children with universally good humanistic values. The Ministry of Education then launched three actions: formulated a national philosophy of education, reexamined the curriculum and integrated universal values into the school subjects, and developed a course on Moral Education.

Like Malaysia, many nations assert the role of schools in developing morals, and instigate national courses of moral (or Religious) education. These moral education courses may purport, as above, to promote "universally good humanistic values". Even 'universal' values, though, are subject to national and cultural interpretation.

The development of international, intercultural, global and transcultural identities appears to be a lower priority for the governments of many nations. In so far as national curricula are implemented for national governments to strengthen national control through the encouragement of national identity, and that international and especially global identities may be seen as threats to this national identity, this is hardly surprising. 'Factual' knowledge about other countries should not be confused with the development of an international/ global perspective on these other countries. The former poses no threat to, and may reinforce, national identity, and has a long history in schools. The latter is more personal; it may change the individual's ways of thinking, seeing and feeling. Recent research on the development of international, intercultural, global and transcultural identities in schools has been confined largely to the subjects of history and languages, the same subjects which are used to develop national and majority cultural identity. Becher (1996) advocates the development of a European identity through history teaching, exploring the relationship of national to international (European) identity:

> It is for all pupils an important historical discovery to apprehend that every historical explanation is necessarily from a particular perspective, a discovery which should protect them from dogmatism. Only if one takes seriously various and different perspectives on historical experiences, can there be a discourse between these different perspectives which can enlighten and deepen the pupils' understanding of what Europe is and can be. Only in this way can a dialogue exist between cultures which makes clear to pupils who they are as they learn who others are, a learning which develops their understanding and their capacity for tolerance.

Being able to take various perspectives, relativise one's own culture, develop one's own understanding and be tolerant are all features of international, intercultural, global and transcultural identities. Similar recommendations are made in research on foreign language learning. Loveday (1982: 57) makes this comment:

> The experiencing of a different version of sociocultural reality is an undeniably valuable and enriching process and most L2 teaching should offer the opportunity to gain entry to it by freeing students from ethnocentrism and sensitizing them to cross-cultural contrasts and similarities.

Attempts by teachers to change pupils' concepts of self and others have to be carried out sensitively, and carry their own moral and ethical implications. The underlying assumption of the researchers and teachers involved in such attempts, an assumption which may or may not be shared by students, is that international/intercultural identities are more desirable than national/monocultural identities. This idea is rarely made explicit, but is widely accepted in principle. In practice, little research has been done on how to implement such a principle in the classroom. Examples of exceptions include the work of Byram (1989), Meyer (1991) and Kordes (1991). Cultural or national identity could easily be substituted for ethnicity in Byram's (1989: 117) comments on self-change:

> To bring about change in pupils' schemata of their own ethnicity, we need to confront them with new experience of their ethnicity. This can be done by presenting a foreigner's view of their ethnicity, with the intention that their existing schemata of their own ethnicity shall change when they cannot cope with the new experience. Such new experience needs, of course, to be agreeable and non-threatening, so that pupils are prepared to change their schemata rather than reject the experience by assimilating it to their existing views of foreigners; they must be helped to take seriously foreign views of themselves which differ from their own, and to adjust their own to give recognition to the foreign views.

Here, the ideas of decentring and adjusting one's own views, or changing one's ways of seeing, take the student into the later stage of intercultural identity (see section 2.2). These theories of the development of intercultural and transcultural identity through foreign language learning were put to the test by Kordes in a study undertaken with 112 students of French in Germany. Kordes (1991: 288) found that the majority managed to advance to an intermediate intercultural level. However, the attainment of the transcultural level was limited to an "insignificant minority" of six students. The notion that school education has limitations in the development of international and intercultural identities is supported by Acton & Walker de Felix (1986). They incorporate various models of culture learning into their own four-stage model, and address the relevance of these models to education:

> It may be possible, for instance, for pedagogy to lead learners into stage 3... but it appears to require extensive socialization or acculturation beyond the classroom to proceed much further than that.

Although the implication here is that students can rarely achieve transcultural or global (in the sense defined in section 2.3) identities through school education, there is a growing demand for them to do this. In a book on developing global teachers, Steiner (1996: xiii) clarifies some of the desired characteristics:

> ...citizenship needs to be conceived of as more than loyalty to one's country of birth and respect for its laws; it's about membership of the global community and an active commitment to advancing universal human rights, material and environmental welfare, peace and democracy for everyone.

What is being advocated here is global identity in the sense of individual identification of the self as a member of the global community. As indicated here, however, education in this field often focuses on global issues (human rights, welfare, environmental issues, peace etc.), rather than on self in the world. This is the factual knowledge of global issues, which can be likened to the factual knowledge of other countries in the international sphere. There seems to be very little research on the complementary strand of developing a global identity through education, although Huckle (1996: 29) links the two spheres:

> The politics of culture and identity can be the key to motivating young people to become active and informed global citizens.

Although education for national and majority cultural identity is often firmly entrenched in the national curricula of various countries, it seems that education for international and intercultural identities, and especially for global and transcultural identities, is still in its formative stages. There are comparatively few established studies or developed theories concerning the development of these latter identities in education. The few studies which have been carried out suggest that, although education for the development of these identities has its limitations in the confines of the school environment, there are also significant possibilities for the development of international and intercultural identities in the classroom. The main limitation of the existing literature is that it focuses exclusively on specific subject areas and content teaching. The impact of other areas of education, and indeed factors outside the school, is equally significant in the development of identities.

2.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have defined national, cultural, international, intercultural, global and transcultural identities in the sense in which these terms will be used in this thesis. The development of each has been outlined, and the links between these identities and between education and these identities have been explored.

The development of identities, be they national-international-global or monocultural-intercultural-transcultural, may be viewed as a series of stages. With some reservations, I have followed this linear approach to the development of identities in this description. It is a useful analogy, and one which has parallels in the psychology/ sociology literature on the development of identity in childhood. However, 'stage models', such as this one and Meyer's levels of intercultural performance, have their limitations. These stage models imply a graded, hierarchical progression of identities. Each stage follows on from the previous one, and those who reach the transcultural/ global stage are somehow 'better' than those at other levels. I am not convinced that this is indeed the case. Most (by no means all) people would probably accept that intercultural and international identities are more desirable than monocultural and national identities, as they afford a wider view and greater understanding of the world. There is a certain degree of progression as the individual has more contact with foreign countries and cultures. However, stage models run the risk of minimising, or even ignoring, the concept of multiple, flexible identities. Parallel with the 'stages' of identity is the 'instrumentalist approach' defined by Smith (1995: 30):

> Briefly, an 'instrumentalist' approach is one that regards human beings as having always lived and worked in a wide range of groups. As a result, people have a variety of collective identities, from the family and gender to class, religious and ethnic affiliations. Human beings are constantly moving in and out of these collective identities. They choose, and construct, their identities according to the situations in which they find themselves. Hence, for instrumentalists, identity tends to be 'situational' rather than pervasive, and must be analysed as a property of individuals rather than of collectivities.

In the rest of this thesis, then, the position taken is that there are different kinds of identities, but the focus will be on national, cultural, international, intercultural, global and transcultural identities. It is recognised that these are only a few of the social identities constructed by the individual, and that other identities may take priority most of the time. Although there is some element of progression through types of identity, the different types of identity are not seen as qualitatively superior or inferior to each

other. Furthermore, an individual has multiple identities and can exhibit aspects of all of these identities at different times and in different situations. The body of psychology and sociology literature reviewed in this and the preceding chapter will provide one perspective for the examination of these identities in Japanese junior high school students. A further perspective will be facilitated by the review of theories of Japanese identities which will be the focus of chapters 3 and 4.

Chapter 3

Japanese identities

3.1 Influential concept-creators

In this chapter, I intend to explore some of the main philosophical, moral, religious and ethical ideas which have affected ideas of self and identities in contemporary Japan. The chapter will be subdivided by theme rather than by philosophical, moral etc. distinctions, as this should make the links to identity and self clearer. However, for purposes of clarification, this introductory section will provide a brief summary of some of the main movements from which ideas in this chapter are drawn.

Shinto literally means "the way of the gods". There are various forms of Shinto, but the form most relevant to discussion of identity is folk Shinto, which is also described as folk religion. Matsumoto (1972: 13) gives the following definition of folk, or basic, Shinto:

> ...I would tentatively identify what may here be called "basic Shinto" with the fundamental value orientation of the Japanese people. Accordingly, Shinto in the most comprehensive sense of the term, is simply the basic value orientation of the Japanese people in the various forms it has taken and the developments it has experienced in the course of Japan's history, including her contacts with foreign cultures.

However, the assumption of a "basic value orientation" or an "indigenous primitive religion" (Miyake 1972: 121) is misleading. In fact, the term "Shinto" was actually only invented after the introduction of Buddhism to Japan. What already existed was not a central Shinto philosophy or organisation, but a vast array of diverse local practices and beliefs. These were bundled together under the umbrella term "Shinto" to mark the boundary between old and new, Japanese and foreign beliefs and practices. Taken collectively, referred to as folk Shinto, these beliefs have continued to be influential through to the present day. As Reader (1991: 23) ascertains:

> Over the centuries the folk tradition has provided... a centralising dynamic through which all the religious traditions found in Japan have been interpreted and assimilated in such a way that each has added to the overall picture.

Buddhism arrived in Japan in the sixth century. Japanese Buddhism is a form of Mahayana Buddhism, which is the form also practised in China, Korea, Tibet, Vietnam and Mongolia. Buddhism's entry to Japan was accompanied by the introduction of a whole range of elements of high-status Chinese culture, from the writing system to the rites and rituals. Introduced by Prince Shotoku (574-622AD), Buddhism and its associated culture were seen, from the beginning, as superior to existing cultures. The manner of its introduction also meant that Buddhism was identified with the state from

an early stage. Particularly close links existed in the period of adoption in the sixth century, in the Nara period (710-794) and in the Tokugawa era (1603-1868) (Reader 1991: 55). During these periods, Buddhism was used as a means of support for the ruling authorities. These periods of close ties were significant in influencing the development and growth of Buddhism in Japan, as Tamaru (1972: 50) hints:

> For the government this relationship involved both patronage and control of Buddhists and Buddhist organizations, while from the Buddhist side it entailed receiving certain emoluments and giving moral and spiritual support to the state - on occasion compromising its own principles.

State Buddhism was brought to an abrupt halt by the Meiji Restoration of 1868, but Buddhism at the local level remained influential. In its present-day form, Japanese Buddhism has five major umbrella sects; Shingon, Tendai, Jodo, Zen and Nichiren. Each sect has appropriated and emphasises different teachings of Buddhism. Each sect is further divided into many distinguishable groups, and Nichiren in particular is the progenitor of many of the major new religions in Japan today.

Confucianism was first introduced to Japan from China via Korea some time in the fourth century. It was not until Prince Shotoku's time, however, that Confucianism was formally studied and officially sanctioned in Japan (Tomikura 1972: 106). From the beginning, Confucianism was treated less as a religion than as a system of political and moral thought. This meant that it could assume a position which complemented, rather than threatened, existing traditions. As Kurozumi (1994: 342) points out:

> Devoid of ultimate notions of a religious or cultural nature, Confucianism needed myths and a pantheon from somewhere else to build a following and a spread.

The "myths and a pantheon" have always been readily available. In the Tokugawa period, Confucianism upheld Buddhism (Nakamura 1967b: 109). From the Meiji period, Confucianism complemented state Shinto (Matsumoto 1972: 23). In the post-war period, and through to the present day, Confucianism has found a host in the new religions (Arai 1972: 103). In this respect, Confucian ethics and values have provided a line of continuity through Japanese history, regardless of the relative fortunes and popularity of the major religions.

The State Cult deserves attention because of its development of and emphasis on national identity. The Meiji Restoration of 1868 is commonly equated with the beginning of Japan as a modern nation. Modernisation involved a move from the local to national level, and there was a need to create a national consciousness and identity. The image of the early Meiji years as a time of heightened international contact and

openness to the West is true, but represents only one faction of the Meiji government. At the same time, there was considerable support within the government for National Learning (*kokugaku*) (see section 4.1). Advocates of National Learning, who included Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801) promoted the idea of an ancient Japanese culture, and supported the notion of a 'pure' Japan, which should be kept clean from polluting foreign influences. While they shared the goal of a unified Japan, the ideas of the traditionalist and modernist factions in the Meiji government were antithetical. Eventually, the National Learning movement gained prominence in government, and began to develop the *kokutai* (national polity).

The structures of nationalism and the ideas of the state cult were the backdrop to a successful policy of expansion in Asia. With a successful foreign policy, successful nationalisation, modernisation and industrialisation, ordinary Japanese people accepted these ideas which were, after all, rooted in familiar beliefs and ideologies. By the 1930s, the authority of the state was absolute, as Bocking (1995: 231) records:

> With the backing of the government, sanctions against dissidents and eventually the institution of thought control, the state cult became by the late 1930s a compulsory national 'faith', which brooked no dissent.

The state cult retained this authority until Japan's defeat in 1945.

After the post-war prohibition of state patronage of Shinto, religion, philosophy, morals and ethics became an individual, rather than national, preoccupation. In this atmosphere, a plethora of **new religions** and new new religions (those founded from the 1970s onwards) mushroomed. These new religions have not attracted universal support, and tend to be centred on large cities where people have cut ties with their ふるさと (home town) and are beginning new lives. The new religions do not, therefore, represent the whole of Japanese society, nor even a majority of that society. They are a context of identity only for some people, in a society where there are numerous competing contexts of identity. Nevertheless, they are a reflection of society, in that they were established and flourish in response to the needs which arise in and because of the changing society. Also, they have been identified by 鏑幹八郎 (*Tatara Mikihachiro* 1990: 169) as one of the five major influences on Japanese identities in the future. References to these new religions will, therefore, feature in the following discussion. Alongside these new religions, older traditions and rituals have survived remarkably intact, particularly in the countryside, as illustrated by the fact that the majority of extended family homes still have a Buddhist and Shinto altar in the house.

Although the ideas raised in this chapter come from a variety of traditions, developed through various periods of history, all are now intertwined in influencing the everyday life of people in contemporary Japan. Many of the ideas find their origins in the major religions found in Japan. The claim that Japan is a secular society in which religious traditions are largely irrelevant is a popular one, but in trying to make sense of how people think and see the world, the traditions of Shinto, Buddhism, Confucianism and so on are unavoidable. Reader (1991: 5) conveys the current situation accurately:

> Japanese people are in general quick to say that they are not religious and to describe their society as one where religion either does not exist or has in some way died out... in reality, Japanese people in general exhibit extremely high levels of religious activity and behaviour, and Japanese society and culture are intricately interwoven with religious themes.

In the rest of this chapter, then, ideas of the influential movements listed above will be combined with contemporary research on self and identities in Japan to form a picture of some of the themes of identity in Japan today.

3.2 *Kami* and goodness

Many of the local practices from which Shinto originates were based on nature worship, and there remains a strong link between the spiritual and natural worlds. As Miyata (1990: 243) observes:

> A variety of spiritual beings - plant, animal, human, and so on - are found abundantly throughout the Japanese archipelago, and one of the major features of folk religion, which is part of Japan's basic cultural heritage, is its exceedingly rich animistic beliefs.

The spiritual is innate in all aspects of life, everything in the world has a spiritual existence, and humans are only one part of that spiritual existence. This belief leads to the idea that the world does not exist to be used, abused or totally controlled by humans. This idea of a world with its own existence, not necessarily controllable by humans, underpins the principles of secondary control described in section 1.2.

Humans are part of the world of the 神 (*kami*, gods). If the human soul comes from, lives in and returns to the *kami* world, then humans cannot be bad. As Matsumoto (1972: 15) observes:

> The Shinto view of man is affirmative and even optimistic. Human nature is accepted, perhaps with some naivete, as it is. The idea of original sin as found in Christianity does not exist in Shinto.

This affirmative view of human nature is upheld in Buddhist thought (Nakamura 1967a: 6) and in Confucianism (DeVos 1985: 147; Tu 1985: 246). Such ideas of inherent goodness contrast sharply with Freud's ideas of socialisation outlined in section 1.4. What this idea does mean, in terms of identity, is that children are seen as essentially good. 河合隼雄 (*Kawai Hayao*) et al. (1988: 16) underscore this concept in a book entitled 子どものよさを活かす (Activating Children's Goodness):

> 子どものよさをつぶしてしまう人が多い。・・自分の子どもをよくしようと思い、親も先生も一生懸命になって子どもをつぶしてしまうということが案外多いのです。
> (There are many people who end up crushing children's goodness... It is surprisingly common for parents and teachers to end up crushing children with all their might, in the effort to make them good.)

It is interesting that the author criticises the teachers and parents who do not see their children as essentially good. This example illustrates the conflict which frequently surfaces in discussions of education in Japan between Western and Eastern theories of childhood, in this case between original sin and inherent goodness. The idea of inherent goodness is widely enough assumed to be used as a principle of educational research. To cite a published example, 亀澤信一 (*Kamezawa Shinichi*) (1997: 43) reports on a project in a junior high school in which students asked parents and friends to tell them what their (the students') good points were. The basic principle of the project was:

> 人間関係をよくするのに忘れてはならないのは、お互いのよさを認め合うということである。
> (To make human relations good, the thing that should not be forgotten is to recognise each other's goodness.)

This is one example of the practical application of theories of goodness in education. Further discussion appears in chapter 5.

3.3 This-worldness, self-cultivation and the right way

One of the "Three Marks of Life" of Buddhism is known as *anicca*, and refers to the transience of the phenomenal world. *Anicca*, as it exists in Japan, bears little resemblance to its form in other countries. Nakamura (1967a: 93) provides a succinct explanation of the differences:

> Japanese Buddhism emphasized the transience of the phenomenal world. But the Japanese attitude towards this transience is very different from the Indian. The Japanese disposition is to lay a greater emphasis upon sensible, concrete events, intuitively apprehended, than upon universals. It is in direct contrast to the characteristic Indian reaction to the world of

> change, which is to reject it in favor of an ultimate reality, a transcendent Absolute in which the mind can find refuge from the ceaseless flux of observed phenomena. The Japanese reaction is rather to accept, even to welcome, the fluidity and impermanence of the phenomenal world.... The *now* is absolute. The whole of enlightenment is contained in every moment. Therefore, every moment of exercise is of infinite worth.

A corollary of this belief is that all of existence can be seen in any single phenomenon. This leads to the philosophy of knowing others through self, which will be discussed in chapter 8. The mutation of Buddhism from a world-denying religion to a world-affirming one accords with Shinto notions of this-worldism (Matsumoto 1972: 15). It encourages identities which are based in the here and now of the immediate world, rather than being rigidly fixed. If now is absolute, and now is fleeting and fluid, then identities must also be shifting and fluid.

A further corollary of this-worldism for identity is that, if this world is all there is, then individuals should concentrate on living and doing the best they can with their own life. The link between this-worldness and self-cultivation is clearly expressed by Smith (1983: 123):

> ...the individual is urged to strive for perfection. If individuals attain that goal, then society, being the creation of individuals, is itself perfectible. The assumption derives from the premise, deeply rooted in native myth, Confucian teachings, and the peculiar construction the Japanese have placed on Buddhism, that human beings have this world and this life and none other.

The striving for perfection, developed through self-cultivation, is given a framework by the concept of "the right way". This concept has dual foundations in Buddhism and Confucianism. In Buddhism, it is exemplified by the Eightfold Path, summarised by Metz (1982: 232):

> Essentially the Eightfold Path is concerned with three things: with morality (right speech, right action, right occupation); with spiritual discipline (right effort, right mindfulness, right composure); and with insight (right knowledge, right attitude)... It is a middle way, avoiding both the extreme of self-mortification or asceticism, and the extreme of sensuality, of giving oneself up to every impulse. This middle way cannot be called a compromise; it offers a demanding lifestyle that is both practical and balanced.

In the seventeenth century, this concept of the Eightfold Path was extended from religious to secular life (Nakamura 1967b: 26). It was complemented by the Confucian philosophy of *li*, which is explained by Hansen (1991: 70):

> Translations of *li* include 'ritual', 'etiquette', 'manners', 'ceremonies' and 'propriety'. The most general term we might use for *li* is 'conventions'. *Li* guide, for example, forms of address, funeral wear, even how to sit at meals.

In other words, the *li* provide the structure and stability of ways of acting and speaking in society. The *li* are inextricably enmeshed in the web of everyday life; if they were cut out, there would be no form left to the culture. Connected with and intrinsic to this idea of *li* is the idea of "the way". Tomikura (1972: 114) expounds:

> The idea of "the way" (*to, do* or *michi* in Japanese) has exercised enormous influence on Japanese culture. In addition to supplying a mystical dimension to Bushido, it not only entered into Shinto (*shinto,* "the way of the *kami*") and gave profundity to its thought but also found expression in calligraphy (*shodo*, "the way of writing"), flower arrangement (*kado*, "the way of floral art"), the tea ceremony (*sado*, "the way of tea"), swordmanship (*kendo*, "the way of the sword").... and other areas of culture.

In pursuits such as *shodo* and *sado*, the right way demands not only mastery of the correct movements and techniques, but also the right attitude and frame of mind. As in the Buddhist Eightfold Path, the right way in Confucianism is not purely a matter of conformity of action, but also involves cultivation of the mind, moral principles and one's inner self (Rozman 1991: 198).

In the interpretations outlined above, this-worldism, self-cultivation and the right way encourage a concept of identity-construction which accords with the theories discussed in chapter 1. The self is created, built and cultivated within the structures of society. Also, the possibilities of self-change and self-improvement afforded by the concept of self-cultivation fit well with theories of secondary control. In this interpretation of secondary control, the self is constructed and developed within the structures of "the right way" to adapt to the environment.

3.4 Self, selves and no-self

Another of the "Three Marks of Life" of Buddhism is *anatta.* The essence of *anatta* is summarised by Cush (1990: 5):

> Like everything else, we ourselves are continually changing, both from life to life and day to day. There is no 'inner self', 'soul' or 'real me' that stays the same.

This is a concept which, although it accords to some extent with recent theories of identities, clearly contradicts most traditional Western theories of identity. For example,

Erikson's theories (宮川知彰, *Miyakawa Tomoaki*, 1989: 101), reliant as they are on the concept of fixed, consistent identity, shatter when faced with this definition. Cooper (1996: 40) underlines how central this concept is to Buddhism:

> Buddhism without 'No self' - without the claim that 'Everything is Not-self' - is a bit like Christianity without the Trinity...

Metz (1982: 232) explains the concept of no-self in greater detail:

> ...the unity of the human personality is an illusion. The reality is a constantly changing arrangement of the different elements which make up the world. Belief in the self is rejected; 'I' and 'my' are concepts bearing no relation to truth. The man who perceives this truth will, therefore, no longer cling to the imaginary 'I'. Indeed, it is precisely this false attitude to life which is the main cause of suffering.

There is, therefore, no constant self. Neither can a consistent self-identity be constructed. If this view is adopted, identities are relational, situation-specific and fluid. This actually converges with the notion in Western identity theories of multiple, shifting identities. However, even this convergence is probably only partial. The Western notion is based on the underlying assumption that there are multiple selves. The Buddhist idea is based on the concept of no-self.

To what extent the Buddhist concept of no-self has permeated Japanese world-views and to what extent it has been tempered by other beliefs is a moot point. Lebra (1992: 114) sheds some light on the issue in her discussion of the three types of Japanese self; interactional, inner and boundless. Lebra's interactional self refers to the dimension of self which is in direct contact with others in a social context. The inner self (or 心 *kokoro*) is more stable, defined by Lebra as a basis of autonomy from the social world and as the residence or shrine of the soul . The boundless self is defined (1992: 114) as follows:

> The notion of the boundless self... is embedded in the Buddhist version of transcendentalism. It is tapped from time to time particularly when one faces a need of fundamental self-reorientation. The boundless self entails disengagements from the shackling world of dichotomies, dichotomies between subject and object, self and other, inner and outer realms, existence and non-existence, life and death, sacred and profane, good and bad, and so on. The self as the subject or imposer of such dichotomies through thinking, willing, feeling, or evaluating, then, must be overcome.

This interpretation of no-self, as a dimension which allows occasional disengagement from everything, stresses the liberating aspects of the concept. It is quite possible to recreate oneself and, furthermore, to go beyond the bounds of self. The idea of the

boundless self implies a freedom to reach beyond the limits of one individual being and be therefore liberated from individualism and the parameters it imposes. Lebra (1992: 115) develops this idea:

> With no resistance, self is supposed to merge with the rest of the world. Merging means a twofold process: on the one hand, self becomes part of the objective world or nature; and on the other, self absorbs the outer world into itself. These processes are two aspects of the same coin.

This notion of the self has implications for the development of all identities. The last quote, in particular, has discernible echoes of definitions of global/ transcultural identities discussed in the last chapter. The similarity with Robertson's (1991: 77) definition of globalisation as "the two-fold process involving the universalization of particularism and the particularization of universalism" is striking.

Recent research on Japanese ideas of self and identity further supports these ideas of a multiple, shifting self. Kondo (1990), Rosenberger (1992) and Bachnik (1994) all emphasise the importance of situational co-ordinates in defining the self or selves. In Tokugawa Japan, these co-ordinates were prescribed, as a member of a family, community and class. In the Meiji, pre-war and war period, the co-ordinates were prescribed as a member of the nation. In the post-war years, the establishment of these social co-ordinates has become the responsibility of the individual. In a fragmented market of identity contexts, some people seek these co-ordinates in new religions, others in traditional patterns, others in the family or workplace. The study by Mathews (1996) on individuals' *ikigai*, or what makes their life worth living, illustrates the range of significant social co-ordinates in which Japanese people root their identities and selves. Family, work, religion, hobbies or a range of other contexts provide the co-ordinates through which identities are constructed but, as Mathews (1996: 52) indicates, the relative significance of these contexts is the choice of the individual.

As should be clear from the preceding discussion, there is no single definition of "the Japanese self", just as there is no single self to be defined. Each individual mixes a cocktail of religious and/or philosophical and moral beliefs to construct a range of identities appropriate to particular co-ordinates of time, place, situation, interlocutor and so on. The resulting picture is one of multiple definitions of multiple selves.

3.5 Human relations

A convenient introduction to this section is provided by the words of Hsu (1985: 27):

> ...the meaning of being human is found in interpersonal relationships, since no human being exists alone...

In the last section, the point was made that self in Japan is not considered to be a fixed, objectifiable entity, but is dependent on situational co-ordinates for its existence. If this premise is accepted, it follows that human relations cannot be seen, as they traditionally are in the West, as a relationship between the fixed entity 'I' and the fixed entity 'you'. Instead, the 'I', the 'you' and the link between the two are merged into a single process of "human relationship". As Bachnik (1986: 51) perceives:

> Relationship as a connective 'and' between self and other cannot be extracted from the context in which it exists (between self and other). Relationship is not substantive, but dynamic. It has to do with the creation of self and other.

The influence of Confucian teachings on this interpretation of human relationships is significant. According to Confucian tradition, there are five basic human relationships; ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, older and younger brother, and friend and friend. The only relationship which is not hierarchical is that of friend and friend. Identities based in these social relationships are far more important than individual identity, as Hansen (1991: 72) explains:

> He [*Confucius*] bases his explicit normative system on roles. He does not assign a normative value to persons apart from their social relationships. All your duties are duties of your station towards other socially described persons or things. These roles are natural and the family roles are the core examples.

The implications for identity are obvious. Individual identities do not exist. Identity is recognised only in terms of roles. Furthermore, identity is firmly locked within hierarchical social relationships. Within a relationship, each participant has a duty towards the other as a superior or inferior. With its emphasis on filial piety and the family as the core unit, Confucianist thought accords with Shinto and Buddhist practices of ancestor worship. Bush (1977: 14) emphasises this aspect:

> The most important ceremony to carry out in the proper way, according to Confucius, was the veneration of ancestors, an inescapable aspect of filial piety.

The practice of ancestor worship means that human relations are not limited to the world of the living. As 佐野賢治 (*Sano Kenji*) et al. (1996: 167) describe, relations and socialisation continue until at least the 33rd anniversary of the death of the person, at which point s/he becomes a 神 (*kami*, god). Not only the interpretation of human relationships, but also their spatial and temporal boundaries, need to be redefined. Turning to the characteristics of human relationships, Confucian values of respect (from

inferior to superior) and benevolence (from superior to inferior) are still widely held. In equal relations, the definition by石田一宏 (*Ishida Kazuhiro*) (1993: 45) of what makes a good character or personality (よい性格, *yoi seikaku*) in a child is revealing:

> 人の心を大切にする。美しいもの、こころよいものが理解できる、自分を含めて人間ひとりひとりをかけがえのない大切なものと認識できる、こんなことも「よい性格」の条件だろうと思う。いい方をかえると感性の問題だ。他人の心を共有できなければならない。
> (Making people's hearts important. I think that one requirement for "a good character" is being able to understand beautiful and pleasant things, and being able to understand that each individual human being, including oneself, is irreplaceably important. In other words, it's a question of sensitivity. It's being able to empathise with other people's inner selves.)

The meaning and form of human relations for Japanese children will be taken up repeatedly through the rest of the thesis.

3.6 Summary

One of the striking features of contemporary Japanese society is the range of traditions which has influenced, and continues to influence, the construction of identities by the individual. Shinto, Buddhist and Confucian philosophies, folk traditions, the import of Western ideas, the experience of war and so on have all made their mark on the development of ways of acting, thinking, seeing and feeling of Japanese children today. Belief in inherent goodness radically affects the process of socialisation, and this idea will be further developed in chapter 5. Animistic beliefs, combined with the philosophy of self-cultivation in the right way, lead to an emphasis on secondary control and belief in the ability to change and improve the self. This-worldness, and the idea of the transience of the phenomenal world, contribute to ideas of multiple, shifting selves. These multiple selves link to other multiple selves in specific co-ordinates of time, space and situation, to form human relations. In the process of human relations, identities are further constructed, defined and developed.

Chapter 4

Japanese identities in the nation and world

4.1 A historical perspective

In this chapter, the focus switches to the development of national, international, global and respective cultural identities in a Japanese context. This chapter will build on the dual foundations of general theories of the identities discussed in chapter 2, and theories of identities arising from Japanese religious, philosophical and moral traditions (see chapter 3). This introductory section will provide a historical overview of some pertinent issues in Japanese history, in order to provide a context in which to understand contemporary identities.

Japan has always swung between periods of active nationalisation and periods of active internationalisation. The earliest inhabitants of the Japanese islands have been identified as belonging to at least four different ethnic categories (埴原和郎, *Hanihara Kazurou*, 1984), a fact which immediately dispels the myth of the Japanese as a homogenous, unique people. Through the Final Joumon period (ca.1000BC-ca.300BC) and the Yayoi period (ca.300BC-ca.AD300) there was regular contact between people in the Japanese islands and people in China and on the Korean peninsula. (Bleed 1996).

The first Japanese national state emerged when the leaders of Yamato extended their rule to the whole country during the Asuka period (593-710). The early national state was characterised by vigorous internationalisation, in terms of exchange of people (石井正敏, *Ishii Masatoshi*, 1989: 38-44) and import of culture. It was during this period that Buddhism and Confucianism were introduced from Paekche on the Korean peninsula, and the Chinese administration system was incorporated. The following centuries witnessed a similar openness in relations with other Asian countries. Relations with Western countries began in the mid-sixteenth century, with the arrival of Portuguese boats in 1543 and Francis Xavier in 1549 (児玉幸多, *Kodama Kouta* (ed.), 1994: 18). Nakano (1995: 53) remarks that internationalisation during the Azuchi-Momoyama period (1568-1600) "attained remarkable heights".

Internationalisation was curtailed by the introduction of the 鎖国 (*sakoku*, closed country) policy, which was imposed gradually over the first half of the seventeenth century. Although the 250 year seclusion during the Edo period (1600-1868) restricted international contact, it did not prevent it altogether. Throughout the period, Dutch settlers on the island of Dejima (off Nagasaki) acted as mediators of information between the Bakufu government and the outside world (田中健夫, *Tanaka Takeo*, 1989: 199). Another point is that this period of rejection of internationalisation cannot be held to be synonymous with a period of nationalisation. As observed in chapter 2,

nationalisation and national identity are recent phenomena. Hardacre (1989: 4) comments:

> Japan before 1868 represented a collectivity of persons whose sense of identity was focused not upon the state but upon local communities.

1868, the year in which the government of Emperor Meiji took power from the Tokugawa shogunate, is generally regarded as the watershed year in which Japan was transformed from a feudal state to a modern nation. The decades preceding 1868, however, had seen the development of various groups and ways of thinking which were to be influential in the early Meiji years. The three main groups, which advocated national learning, Chinese studies and Western learning respectively, vied for power in the decades following the Meiji restoration. These years were a period of both intense nationalisation (e.g., the first national education system, national conscription) and intense internationalisation (e.g., extended tours of Europe and America by many leaders of the Meiji government, the employment of thousands of foreign teachers in Japanese educational institutions). The two movements developed simultaneously through the Meiji (1868-1912) and Taisho (1912-26) periods, but nationalism, fuelled by the national learning movement, gained the upper hand in the early Showa years, culminating in the Pacific War (1941-1945).

Following defeat in the war, the pendulum swung once again towards internationalisation, with the American Occupation, international treaties and agreements and, since the 1960s, economic internationalisation. An element of globalisation has also been evident in the post-war years, with political and social commitment to the ideal of world peace and, more recently, interest in global issues such as the environment and information technology. At the same time, there has been a revival of nationalist ideas, with a particular emphasis on attempts to prove Japan's uniqueness in the world. The contemporary coexistence of national, international and global movements in Japan, and their implications for identities, will be the focus of this chapter.

4.2 Self in the nation

The best-known and most prolific nationalist movement since the war has been the 日本人論 (*nihonjinron*) movement. *Nihonjinron* literally means "discussions of the Japanese people". In common usage, *nihonjinron* is used as a general term to encompass the massive body of literature concerned with proving and describing Japan's

differences from the rest of the world. The time-span covered by the movement is post-war to the present day, but much of the *nihonjinron* literature has its roots in the writings of pre-war authors. Yoshino (1992: 50) argues that the *nihonjinron* is a form of secondary nationalism, that is, nationalism in an already securely established nation:

> We may say that in secondary nationalism a sense of belonging to a 'historical nation' is already taken for granted and that, therefore, an affirmation of the presence of a nation's ancestral culture is not such an important intellectual concern as in primary nationalism. By contrast, the differentiating boundary approach increases its relative importance in that it reaffirms a sense of difference in a way that appeals to the contemporary audience. This accounts for the relative lack of historicism in the *nihonjinron*. Its main concern is to discuss systematically how the Japanese behave differently from foreigners (Westerners), thereby marking the symbolic boundary between 'us' and 'them' foreigners.

Before entering into discussion of *nihonjinron* ideas, it is important to address the issue of who produces, disseminates and consumes *nihonjinron*, and how widely its ideas are accepted. As far as producers are concerned, two points are noteworthy. The first is that, as Yoshino (1992: 9) notes, the production of *nihonjinron* is not the exclusive domain of academics, but is also undertaken enthusiastically by journalists, critics, writers and business leaders. Yoshino labels this group the "thinking elites", and describes their role as being the formulation of ideas and ideals of the nation's cultural identity (1992: 1). The fact that *nihonjinron* ideas are being produced in many different fields ensures that their diffusion is widespread. The second point is that the production of *nihonjinron* is not restricted to Japanese nationals. Manabe, Befu & McConnell (1989: 35) have emphasised the role of foreign writers in the *nihonjinron* movement:

> ...a foreigner-based Nihonjinron has appeared in the rapid succession. And this, in turn, has had the effect of spurring on a Japanese-based Nihonjinron.

The *nihonjinron* movement has been bolstered by these foreign producers, who not only provide their native audience with *nihonjinron* ideas, but also satisfy a Japanese curiosity for what others think of them.

As may be expected, the wide base of producers enables a wide diffusion of *nihonjinron*. According to Befu & Manabe's (1987: 97) research, the most popularly used medium for learning about *nihonjinron* is the newspaper, cited as a source of information by 82% of the questionnaire respondents. This is followed by TV (79%), magazines (59%) and radio (41%). Among the disseminators of *nihonjinron* ideas is the Japanese government. For example, the government printing of "Human Relations in Japan" (1972), a

rewriting of Nakane's *nihonjinron* classic, "Japanese Society", was distributed free to Japanese embassies throughout the world for dissemination (Befu & Manabe 1991: 104).

The final group is the consumers. Surprisingly little research has focused on this group. There seems to be an assumption that, as the Japanese are group-oriented, conformist, homogenous and passively receptive (all ~~*nihonjinron*~~ theories), they all subscribe to the *nihonjinron* theories. The sparse empirical research conducted shows that this is not, in fact, the case. McConnell et al. (1988) found that younger people, women, those with higher levels of education and those who had foreign friends or who had travelled abroad were less likely to agree with the tenets of *nihonjinron*. They conclude (1988: 132) that:

> Nihonjinron is the world view of the older male with a higher standard of living, that is, those in the mainstream and those in power, and these older men with higher incomes tend to be upbeat about the tenets of Nihonjinron and the role it plays. They are also upbeat about their Nihonjinron-based self-identity. Nihonjinron is thus the world view and the ideology of the establishment. It may be espoused by less than a majority in the numerical sense; but those who espouse it are in the majority in the political sense.

This accords with Yoshino's findings, which are also grounded in empirical research. Yoshino (1992: 134) found that, contrary to his expectations, businessmen were much better informed about and interested in *nihonjinron* than educators. 75% of his businessmen interviewees had an active interest in the *nihonjinron*, while only 29% of the educators proclaimed an active interest. The reasons for this difference are intriguing, but perhaps it is partly due to the tradition of business as a staunch supporter of government and national interests, and post-war educators as notoriously resistant to government control and symbols of national identity in school. Yoshino's finding is obviously relevant to any study of national identity in Japanese schools.

Having given a brief explanation of the *nihonjinron* movement, it would be logical to move on to an overview of some of its main ideas. Five of the most influential ideas of the movement will be summarised in turn.

Homogeneity. The stereotype of the Japanese as a homogeneous people is well known and is in no small part a tribute to the effectiveness of the *nihonjinron* writers. Much of the *nihonjinron* writing is based on this premise of "pure Japanese" race or blood. These ideas have been particularly stressed by *nihonjinron* writers such as Masuda Yoshio, who contrasts Europe's mixing of blood and culture with Japan's 純血の民族 (*junketsu no minzoku*, pure-blood people) and Ishida Eiichiro, who emphasises the favourable

results for the Japanese of consanguinity and endogamy (Yoshino 1992: 25). The origins of such ideas, and their significance, can be traced back to Shinto beliefs. According to Shinto belief, the emperor was a descendant of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu, who created Japan and its people. Reader (1991: 27) analyses the implications of this belief:

> Shinto carries within it profoundly ethnic dimensions. The legend of divine descent implies that both Japan and its people are unique, existing in a relationship with an ethnic array of spiritual beings special and relevant to their situation and existence. These distinctly ethnocentric orientations have given rise to underlying concepts of Japanese belonging and identity, and indeed exclusiveness, which retain implicitly religious connotations to this day.

Notwithstanding historical fact, this ethnic-genealogical myth of descent is a crucial tenet of the *nihonjinron*, and persists to the present. For example, a report by the National Institute of Educational Research (1994: 12) states that:

> The Japanese culture has been characterized by its homogeneity and collectivism which is said to have greatly contributed to the economic development since World War II. At the same time, the Japanese are often criticisied [*sic*] for their inability to fully understand the customs, way of thinking and value systems of other countries. This may be so because the Japanese are not accustomed to living together with people of various races.

The idea of Japanese race or blood is inextricably interwoven with the notion of culture, in that the phrase used, 単一民族 (*tan'itsu minzoku*), means "one people", without specifying race, ethnicity or culture (Yoshino 1992: 25). This leads to a blurring of any distinction between national, racial, ethnic and cultural identities, and strengthens the homogeneity arguments. Although this concept of homogeneity is crucial at the producer/ disseminator levels, it is not so forceful at the consumer level. For example, Befu & Manabe (1987: 99) found that, although 72% of their questionnaire respondents had encountered the idea that the Japanese are a homogeneous people (*tan'itsu minzoku*), only 38% agreed with this concept. It is interesting to note that 28% had not even encountered the idea. At the consumer level, then, the homogeneity of Japanese people is a minority belief. At the producer/ disseminator level, it is the lynch pin of most *nihonjinron* theories. Without Japanese blood, it is argued, one cannot understand Japanese culture, arts or society, one cannot master the Japanese language, and one may not even be able to communicate with Japanese people.

The group and vertical society. Stemming from the idea of 'Japanese blood' are the influential *nihonjinron* group theories. The origins of the group are to be found in the pastoral-nomad theories which were the subject of a substantial amount of *nihonjinron*

writings, particularly in the 1960s. Dale (1986: 43) claims that the theories have roots in pre-war writing, and were popularised by Egami Namio and Aida Yuji in the post-war period. The basic argument is that the Japanese are group-oriented by nature due to their long history of rice-cultivation, which demanded permanent settlement and co-operative and harmonious relations (Nakamura 1967b: 67). Harmony (和, *wa*) is a critical concept in the *nihonjinron*, recurring in most descriptions of Japanese society. Moeran (1986: 64) explains what harmony entails within the group model, although he does not actually endorse this model himself:

> ...members of a group are expected to conform and co-operate with one another, to avoid open conflict and competition. The emphasis, therefore, is on harmony, and behavior tends to be ritualised and formal in order to reduce or eliminate conflict or embarrassment. Ideally, in this kind of group, people are supposed to subordinate individual interests to group goals and to remain loyal to group causes. In return for their loyalty and devotion, the leader of the group treats his followers with benevolence and magnanimity.

The harmonious, familialist group is thus based on Confucian ideals of moral obligations, loyalty from inferior to superior, benevolence from superior to inferior and commitment from everyone in the group.

This notion of hierarchical relations within the group leads to one of the most famous of the *nihonjinron* theories, namely, Nakane Chie's vertical society. Nakane's theories originate in the work of Aruga, who wrote about the Japanese family system as the base of the vertical social structure in the 1940s and 1950s (Yoshino 1992: 95). In summary, Nakane (1970) asserts that the Japanese hierarchical family system has been transferred to the world of business, and that the values of the system, although they may be weakening within the family itself, are still dominant in the work sphere. Nakane's theories only account for one sector of the Japanese population, ignoring the vast numbers of self-employed people and the majority of women. It is noteworthy that the sector to which the theories might apply happens to be the sector identified by McConnell et al. (1988: 132) and by Yoshino (1992: 134) as most responsive to *nihonjinron* theories - the male businessman with a relatively high standard of living. Perhaps this fact accounts for the popularity of Nakane's theory in the *nihonjinron* literature.

Uchi* and *soto are a pair of common words which literally mean "inside" and "outside". Parallel sets of words include *tatemae* (face) and *honne* (real feelings) and *omote* (front, face) and *ura* (behind). All the sets of words are used to express a differentiation between 'inside' and 'outside' behaviour. Relating these concepts to Lebra's (1992: 114)

dimensions of self (see section 3.4), the *soto, tatemae* and *omote* are equivalent to the 'interactional self'. This is the dimension of self and space which is activated in situations where a certain level of formality, or self-boundedness, is required. On the other hand, Lebra's 'inner self' relates to the *uchi, honne* and *ura*. This is the dimension which allows for spontaneity and relaxation of self-restraint. Lebra's 'boundless self' overrides any distinction between the pairs of terms, entailing as it does disengagement from such dichotomies. It should be noted, though, that the interactional self, or *soto*, is considered just as 'real' as the inner self, or *uchi*. Different dimensions of self are appropriate to different situations, but all dimensions are equally valued, and equally 'real'.

Recent research continues the *nihonjinron* emphasis on *uchi/ soto* as important for understanding Japanese society, but stresses that the concepts are variable points on a continuum rather than opposing dichotomies (e.g. Bachnik & Quinn (eds.) 1994). As Rosenberger (1994: 97) points out:

> Making a still life of *soto* and *uchi* contexts has its problems because these are always fluid according to the perspective one takes. Like a series of Chinese boxes, what is *soto* in relation to one *uchi* soon becomes *uchi* in relation to a more public, detached level of *soto*.

It is relevant to note that the terms *uchi* and *soto* are often used to distinguish Japan and the rest of the world (e.g. 読売新聞社調査研究本部編, *Yomiuri Shimbun survey research committee*, 1986: 32-36).

Amae is perhaps one of the best-known theories of the *nihonjinron* movement. The notion of *amae* (甘え) as a Japanese phenomenon was developed by Doi Takeo, a psychoanalyst influenced by the work of Freud. Doi (1973: 28) claims that:

> *amae* is a key concept for the understanding not only of the psychological makeup of the individual Japanese but of the structure of Japanese society as a whole.

The verb *amaeru* (甘える) in the dictionary means "behave like a spoiled child", "demand attention" or "depend (on someone's kindness)". The corresponding verb *amayakasu* (甘やかす) implies allowing someone else to behave in this way. The implications of *amae* for power and control in a relationship have been drawn out by Rosenberger (1994: 94):

> The dyadic relationship of giving and receiving indulgence or dependence is born in and reproduces relations of hierarchy... These unequal relations can represent solidarity (as Doi has emphasized), but they can also represent authority. The very oneness of the mother-child

> relationship or the closeness of the boss-underling relationship gives the superior a great deal of potential social authority. The authority is supported by the emotion and obligation that the social inferior feels from having been allowed personal expression of power in certain contexts.

Here, the relative desirability of primary and secondary control (see section 1.2) are clearly asserted. Allowing someone else to *amaeru* means allowing them to exercise primary control. However, the more desirable, and more mature, form of control is secondary control, demonstrated through giving in to others, accepting things as they are (あきらめる、*akirameru*) or adjusting the self to the prevailing order (順応,*junnou*).

Doi has been subjected to fierce criticism (e.g. Dale 1986), not for his theories of *amae*, but for his claim that *amae* is somehow unique to Japan because equivalent terms do not exist in Western languages. Critics have been quick to point out that similar vocabularies exist in Korean (e.g. Lebra & Lebra 1986: xiii) and other Asian languages. The justified criticism that *amae* is not unique to Japan should not be confused with the negation of *amae* as a psychological theory which gives insight into people's ways of acting and thinking.

Language and communication. The massive body of *nihonjinron* writing on language and communication generally argues that Japanese is a unique language. Furthermore, it is intrinsically so difficult that foreigners can never master it completely. Even if foreigners do achieve fluency in the language, they cannot properly understand Japanese styles of communication, which are elusive and exclusive. Miller (1982: 5) underlines the role Japanese language has played in the *nihonjinron* movement:

> To the Japanese today, the Japanese language is not simply the way they talk and write. For them, it has assumed the dimensions of a national myth of vast proportions.

One of the first and most influential writers on the subject is Kindaichi Haruhiko. A distinguished academic, Kindaichi has written extensively about the uniqueness and purity of the Japanese language, and is by far the best known of the *nihonjinron* writers (Befu & Manabe 1987: 98).

Extending the idea of language as unique is the idea of communication as unique. A familiar *nihonjinron* idea is that Japanese people actually communicate not so much through language as through silent, empathetic communication. Lebra (1976: 115) extols this non-verbal communication:

> The Japanese glorify silent communication, *ishin denshin* ('heart to heart communication'), and mutual 'vibrations, implying the possibility of

> semi-telepathic communication. Words are paltry against the significance of reading subtle signs and signals and the intuitive grasp of each other's feelings. The ultimate form of such communication is *ittaikan* ('feeling of oneness'), a sense of fusion between Ego and Alter.

This notion of fusion between self and other has echoes of Buddhist philosophy. The idea of silent communication, or communication through the 腹(*hara*, belly) was championed by Matsumoto Michihiro from the mid-1970s onwards. Matsumoto (1984: 31) claims that:

> *hara*, although a bit too ambiguous for the uninformed Westerner to understand easily, is what the Japanese comfortably identify with... For the Japanese, reality cannot be grasped through concepts and ideas. The reality of *hara* goes beyond the dichotomy of we and they, or subject and object, or sadism and masochism, and cannot be analyzed or comprehended by mind-logic, but can be 'experienced' by *hara*-logic.

Even more than the language itself, 腹芸 (*haragei*, the art of *hara*) serves to mystify Japanese modes of communication. From here, it is a short step to the claim that communication between Japanese and foreigners is difficult, if not impossible. This idea has been posited by Suzuki Takao, one of the most influential *nihonjinron* linguists of the 1970s. Suzuki (1986: 157) argues that:

> ...so long as the interaction is between Japanese people, in Japan,... problems do not arise. But only let a Japanese come into contact with someone else, someone who is not a Japanese, and this Japanese characteristic ceases to be functional. We, used to assimilation and dependency, expect to project ourselves onto the other, and expect him to empathize with us. We have great difficulty with the idea that so long as our addressee is not Japanese we can't expect to have our position understood without strong self-assertion.... So when Japanese, who aren't good at foreign languages, don't show their true ability in international conferences and scholarly meetings, it is less because of their language skills than because of the weak development of the will to express themselves linguistically to sufficient degree.

Such explicit claims that Japanese cannot communicate with foreigners (or learn foreign languages) are obviously effective in marking boundaries between the national "in-group" (*uchi*) and the foreign "out-group" (*soto*). They also encourage the development of an exclusive national and monocultural identity.

The above theories are the lynch pins of *nihonjinron* writings. Many of them have been discredited through the backlash anti-*nihonjinron* movement. Among the most vociferous critics of *nihonjinron* facts and interpretations are Miller (1982), Dale (1986) and Mouer & Sugimoto (1986). Some critics undermine *nihonjinron* theories by producing opposing evidence (e.g., Krauss, Rohlen & Steinhoff (eds.) 1984), on conflict

in Japan). More recently, the *nihonjinron* authors' use of Western rather than Asian societies as reference groups has been attacked (e.g., Yoshino 1992: 12).

Although many of the *nihonjinron* theories have been successfully discredited *as theories of Japanese uniqueness*, some retain validity as theories of Japanese society. More interesting than the arguments of *nihonjinron* and anti-*nihonjinron* writers over facts and interpretations is the question of why the *nihonjinron* movement happened, or what purposes it serves and what needs it fulfils. The most obvious purpose is the development and maintenance of national and cultural identity, labelled by Yoshino (1992: 50) as secondary nationalism. Nakane's (1986: 185) description of the Japanese household or group, writ large, could be seen as the kernel of this concept:

> A cohesive sense of group unity, as demonstrated in the operational mechanism of household and enterprise, is essential as the foundation of the individual's total emotional participation in the group; it helps to build a closed world and results in strong group independence or isolation. This inevitably breeds household customs and company traditions. These in turn are emphasized in mottoes of unity and group solidarity, and strengthen the group even more... in this type of social organization, as society grows more stable, the consciousness of similar qualities becomes weaker and, conversely, the consciousness of the difference between "our people" and "outsiders" is sharpened.

In a national context, the "mottoes of unity" are the *nihonjinron* slogans of "homogeneity", "*amae*", "unique language" and so on. These mottoes help to strengthen group unity through the individual's emotional participation, and they serve to sharpen the differences between the in-group and outsiders. In this respect, the collection of *nihonjinron* theories stand as markers to inform members what it means to be "in the Japanese group". At the consumer level, this function of *nihonjinron* is important. In a questionnaire (Manabe, Befu & McConnell 1989: 58), people were asked, "To what extent do you think Nihonjinron discussion in various media is useful in satisfying the following needs?". 68% of respondents thought that it was useful "to know oneself" and 75% "to know who the Japanese are". The *nihonjinron* thus has a widely perceived role in shaping national and cultural identities. For a substantial minority, it has the further role of "to satisfy self-pride" (33%) and "to have pride as a Japanese" (49%). This is the role which is seen as threatening by most anti-*nihonjinron* writers. It is threatening because it is associated with the pre-war state cult, when ideas of Japanese purity and superiority reached their peak.

Relating *nihonjinron* ideas to the theories discussed in chapter 2, it is clear that *nihonjinron* writers lean heavily on an ethnic-genealogical model of national identity, discernible in ideas of homogeneity and so on. However, these theories are rapidly

losing factual and ideological credibility, and are a minority belief among the consumers of *nihonjinron*. More prominent in the *nihonjinron* theories discussed in this chapter, and more widely accepted, is the concept of a national identity based almost entirely on cultural identity. Cultural identity, in the form of language and communication, customs and habits, is assumed to be shared nationally, and thus is held to be synonymous with national identity. The acceptance and/or rejection by students of these general ideas of Japanese national and cultural identity will be discussed in the data chapters.

4.3 Self in the world

Throughout history, it is not only the relative emphasis on nationalism/ internationalisation/ globalisation which has altered. The meaning of "internationalisation" has also modified over the years. In the past decade or so there has been a shift from "internationalisation" as representing economic and political links with other countries to "internationalisation" as a personal way of being. Sugiyama (1992: 73) remarks that:

> Whereas the discussions of internationalization has in the past centred upon the quantitative aspects of international exchange in goods, people and information, those of more recent years have tended to stress the qualitative conditions or 'the state of mind' of the Japanese people in an international context.

It is this qualitative "state of mind", or way of thinking, seeing and feeling, in an international context, which is the focus of this thesis.

In spite of its popularity, no clear definition of internationalisation as it currently exists in Japan has been agreed upon. If the English term is ambiguous, its Japanese equivalent, 国際 (*kokusai*) or 国際化 (*kokusaika*), claims Katou (1992: 310), is even vaguer:

> Encouraged over the past decade by the government, '*kokusaika*' has become the latest in a series of all-embracing slogans. As was the case with *jiyuu* (freedom) in the early Meiji era, *kokusaika* has come to mean all things to all men.

Chapters 10 and 11 will focus on exactly what 国際化 (*kokusaika*) does mean to Monbusho and to junior high school students. As this is the case, a definition will not be attempted here.

Leaving aside the question of defining 国際化 (*kokusaika*), the next logical step is to examine the relationship between this concept and the ideas discussed in section 4.2. Internationalisation in terms of identities or 'state of mind' is closely linked to *nihonjinron* theories, which are exploring the same area. In fact, many *nihonjinron* writers claimed to be writing in order to promote internationalisation. The argument is that, by raising awareness about the differences between Japanese and foreigners, each party will have a greater understanding of self and other. The result will be more successful communication. This particular line of argument illustrates the first stage of international and intercultural identities, described in section 2.2, which explained international identity as an extension of, and a method of reinforcing, national identity.

The anti-*nihonjinron* writers, by vehemently denying theories of Japanese uniqueness, also contribute to the debate on internationalisation and globalisation. So far, globalisation has hardly been mentioned. This is because it has only recently become an issue in discussions of identities in Japan. Books published so far on the subject are largely restricted to global environmental issues or to globalisation of the economy. In this sense, the use of the term 'globalisation' in Japan appears to be following the use of the term 'internationalisation', which in the 1960s referred only to the economy, but gradually became more and more widely used (小林哲也, *Kobayashi Tetsuya*, 1995: 9). By denying Japanese uniqueness and arguing similarities rather than distinctions, the anti-*nihonjinron* writers are appealing to theories of globalisation in the sense criticised by Smith (1995: 24, see section 2.3) of world homogeneity. However, the sense of global and transcultural identities as the ability to see the nation/ native culture from a world perspective, as well as the world from a national/ native culture perspective, rarely appears.

4.4 Education and identities in the nation and world

In this section, the various points raised so far in the chapter will be taken and applied to the development of the individual in the educational sphere. Paralleling the structure of chapter 2, the section will be subdivided into three parts dealing with education for national/ monocultural identities, education for international/ intercultural identities and education for global/ transcultural identities respectively.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, nationalism and consciousness of national identity began with the Meiji Restoration of 1868. A national Ministry of Education was established in 1872, and its primary task was to develop a national

education system. In the first decade of Meiji rule, nationalist sentiment was subdued, but it began to gain voice with the 1879 Education Order which, with the 1880 Education Order, gave greater powers for national and prefectural control of education. Through the 1880s the sentiments expressed in the 1879 Order began to take effect in schools. Morals became central to the curriculum and in 1880 textbooks considered ethically inappropriate were banned by the Department of Education. In 1881, the Department of Education issued guidelines for the course of study in elementary schools, thereby standardising the curriculum nationwide. In 1885, the first Minister of Education, Mori Arinori, was appointed. Mori supported the notion of education for national development, and emphasised the role of the education system in producing virtuous subjects who would be of service to the State. Education for national identity was further strengthened by the Imperial Rescript on Education (教育勅語, *kyouiku chokugo*) of 1890. A certified copy of the Rescript was sent to every school, where it was read at ceremonies and on important occasions. The Rescript became the guiding philosophy of Japanese education, and came to be regarded as a sacred text.

In spite of the liberalism of the Taisho period (1912-1926), the basic direction of education did not diverge from the course set in the later Meiji years. By the early Showa years, all areas of the curriculum were being used to imbue national identity and nationalistic sentiment. Morals was the core of the curriculum, stressing total loyalty to the State. For example, one textbook widely used in 1941, entitled "Way of the Imperial Subject", states that:

> What we call private life is nothing but the practice of the way of the Imperial subject who supports the heavenly throne of the Emperor... Thus we should not forget in our private life that we are united to the Emperor and must serve the nation. (quoted in International Society for Educational Information 1986: 50)

Such sentiment was vigorously promoted throughout the school curriculum, making the education system a powerful tool of war.

The nationalist movement was crushed by defeat in war and most educators, especially Teachers' Union members, supported the educational reforms of the Occupation period (1945-1952). However, as Horio (1986: 146) records:

> On the other side of the political spectrum - the side of the ruling elite - a campaign was launched in 1951 to "correct the excesses" of postwar democratization through the creation of the Committee for the Investigation of Governmental Decree Revision.

This Committee included many influential figures who felt that reforms had been carried too far. It was in this spirit that, in November 1951, Minister of Education Amano Teiyu drew up "An Outline for National Moral Practice", which he planned to distribute to schools. This document advocated devotion to the state, but was never officially approved.

However, the anti-reform movement's opportunity to change education policy came with the first major post-Occupation reforms in 1958. These reforms gave Monbusho greater authority to determine curriculum and course content, and reintroduced moral education (Kobayashi 1986: 81). The latter measure, in particular, was fiercely resisted by the Teacher's Union (Lanham 1986: 282), but the reversal of Occupation reforms continued. Central government control of education, advocating the strengthening of national identity, continued to meet resistance from the Teachers' Union and others sympathetic to the Occupation reforms. Nevertheless, central control was progressively tightened.

In 1966, the report of the Central Educational Council entitled 「期待つされる人間像」(The image of the desired Japanese) was published. The report recommended self-awareness as a Japanese person, to be developed through respect and love for the Emperor and for Japan. These recommendations were incorporated in the revised courses of study introduced in 1968-1969 (花井信, *Hanai Makoto*,1996: 295). Another issue which represents the growing emphasis on national identity in schools is the issue of the 「日の丸」(national flag) and the「君が代」(national anthem). Their use in schools was banned after the war, only to be declared desirable in the 1958 educational reforms. Over the subsequent reforms in 1968 and 1977, emphasis on the desirability of the flag and anthem was strengthened (神田修［ほか］編, *Kanda Osamu et al. eds.*, 1991: 70). In the 1989 reforms, it was declared (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989g: 99) that the national anthem should be sung and the national flag raised at school entrance and graduation ceremonies and so on. The 1989 reforms also stress, as two of the four main aims, the importance of acquisition by children of the fundamental knowledge necessary as a national citizen (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989a: 5) and the necessity for students to respect the national culture and traditions and to develop self-awareness as a Japanese person and the basics of Japanese ways of seeing and thinking (ibid: 7). In other words, the government is encouraging the development of a national cultural identity. If these developments are taken into consideration, it is hardly surprising that Yoshino (1992) labels the contemporary era in Japan as a phase of "secondary nationalism".

As indicated in section 4.1, internationalisation has an even longer history than nationalism. Throughout the various periods of international contact and exchange

outlined in section 4.1, the exchange of knowledge and scholars was always important. For example, as early as the seventh and eighth centuries, groups of students were sent to study in China (石井正敏, *Ishii Masatoshi* 1989: 38-39). From the end of the Edo period, Western learning was eagerly sought, and groups of students were again sent abroad. The Imperial Oath of Five Articles, declared by the Emperor in April 1868, clearly stated that the policy of the new Meiji government would be to seek knowledge throughout the world. The internationalisation of the early Meiji years is summarised by the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (1980: 21):

> Two factors which played particularly important roles in the introduction of Western civilizations to Japan were the appointment of foreign teachers to Japanese schools and the sending of Japanese students overseas for study and research.

In fact, at higher education institutions in the early Meiji period, most teachers were foreigners and most texts were written in foreign languages. As well as these measures, which introduced new knowledge and techniques to Japanese education, this period was used by the government to collect information about Western education systems as possible models for Japan. Prominent members of the Meiji government travelled abroad to many countries, observing and learning about the various educational systems. Many of their findings were later incorporated into Japan's new system (Rohlen 1983: 54) and are apparent today.

By 1879, the movement which advocated more nationalist education was beginning to subdue the uncritical acceptance of Western knowledge, texts and teachers. As nationalist education was strengthened, new Western educational philosophies (such as the ideas of Dewey) had little impact on the basic direction of education, even though they became well-known in the Taisho era. In the early Showa years, through to the end of the war, nationalism completely dominated internationalisation in any positive sense.

After the war, various measures were suggested to make Japan more international. Some of these measures were extreme. For example, one of the recommendations of the "Report of the US Education Mission to Japan" of 1946 was to abandon the entire Japanese writing system. The argument was:

> Wherever possible linguistic supports of the spirit of national isolation and exclusiveness need breaking down. The adoption of *romaji* would constitute a major contribution to the transmission of knowledge and ideas across national boundaries. (US Education Mission to Japan 1946: 23)

Obviously, this particular measure was not adopted, but it shows the extent of the post-war determination to internationalise Japan, or at least to make Japan accessible to Westerners. The Education Mission's disregard of the fact that abolishing *kanji* would actually make Japanese less accessible to China and other East Asian neighbours is symptomatic of the post-war attitude to internationalisation in education as in other spheres. In post-war education, internationalisation has generally been equated with Westernisation. Nowhere is this more clearly illustrated than in foreign language education. Since the war, and still today, foreign language teaching in junior high school is limited to only one foreign language, and that language is invariably English. Although Monbusho (文部省, 1989b: 114) stipulates that French, German or another language may be taught instead of English, there are no Monbusho-authorised textbooks for any language other than English in junior high school (木塚雅貴 (Kizuka Masaki) 1995: 144). The fact that most Japanese people only ever learn one foreign language at school, and that they all learn the same foreign language, must encourage a tendency towards a rather narrow view of internationalisation. However, this is a problem now attaining recognition, and moves to introduce other foreign languages at some senior high schools have led 木塚雅貴 (Kizuka Masaki) (1995: 144) to conclude that:

> 学校教育における外国語イコール英語という考え方を払拭する時期に来ているといえるのではないであろうか。
> (Perhaps it could be said that we have come to the period when the idea that foreign language at school equals English is being wiped away.)

Although the limits of foreign language education restrict the boundaries of internationalisation, there has been an outwardly positive attitude towards internationalisation on the part of the Ministry of Education. Ideals of internationalisation have been increasingly emphasised in revised Courses of Study, with the 1989 guidelines stating that students should have the basic qualities to live in international society (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989a: 7). On a practical level, the government organises the JET programme to employ foreigners (overwhelmingly native-English-speaking foreigners) to teach in Japanese state schools. The number of posts on the programme doubled from 2,146 in 1990 to over 4,000 in 1995 (Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture 1995: 51). Likewise, the number of foreign students studying at Japanese universities and colleges is projected to increase tenfold from 10,428 in 1983 to a planned 100,000 plus at the beginning of the 21st century (ibid.: 52). While the JET programme participants are almost exclusively Westerners, the majority of foreign students are from other Asian countries, notably China and Korea (小林哲也, *Kobayashi Tetsuya*, 1995: 83). Although Asian foreigners far outnumber Westerners, it is only the Westerners (and almost entirely the English-

speaking Westerners) who are allowed into Japanese state schools as representatives of internationalisation. Internationalisation may be popular, and may be progressing, as described in section 4.3, but in practical terms, internationalisation in schools is still very Western-biased. Furthermore, although outward signs of internationalisation are becoming increasingly common, internationalisation as a 'state of mind', or international and intercultural identities, have so far been largely ignored in the educational sphere. Although statistical tables of the numbers of foreign teachers and students in Japanese schools are easily available, the Japanese students' ways of thinking about these foreigners and their native cultures have scarcely been touched upon.

As mentioned earlier in this section, globalisation is a recent phenomenon. Translated into Japanese as 地球化 (*chikyuuka*) or グローバリゼーション (*guroobarizeeshon*), its use is still confined largely to the political and economic fields. However, it does have roots in Japanese education, notably in the preamble to the Fundamental Law of Education of 1947. The law, which underpins the present-day education system, begins:

> Having established the Constitution of Japan, we have shown our resolution to contribute to the peace of the world and welfare of humanity by building a democratic and cultural state. The realization of this ideal shall depend fundamentally on the power of education.

The concept of education for world peace, and the welfare of mankind, is at the heart of global education ideas in Japan. It is founded on the notion that, as all people share the fact of being human, all are equal and should be seen as equal in the basic right to life. Furthermore, in the view of the earth as a finite space shared by all human beings, some issues should be of common concern to all people. The common example in education is environmental education, and this is gaining popularity in Japanese schools. Environmental education represents the 'outer' face of global education, but may have little effect on individual identities. The 'inner' face of global education is described by 小林哲也 (*Kobayashi Tetsuya*) (1995: 199):

> 「人類的・地球的立場」で考えた場合、国の教育といえども、狭い国民教育を越えて考えなければならないのではないか。
> (Even if it is the education of the nation, must we not surmount narrow national education to think from a human-race or global perspective?)

Stated in a different way, although systems, content and philosophies of education may be nationally determined, they should not be nationally bound. This opinion echoes the definition I gave of global/ transcultural identity in section 2.3, as the ability to see the nation and culture (and other nations and cultures) from a world perspective, rather than see the world from the perspective of particular nations and cultures.

4.5 Summary

Throughout Japanese history, there has been a balance and a certain amount of tension between nationalism and internationalisation, and between identities in the nation and in the world. At times the various identities have been seen as complementary, and at other times as mutually exclusive. Assertion of all these identities is often construed as affirmation, or rejection, of changes in society. Sharf (1993: 36) analyses the role of the *nihonjinron* writings in this light:

> *Nihonjinron* is in large part a Japanese response to modernity - the sense of being adrift in a sea of tumultuous change, cut off from the past, alienated from history and tradition. Since the Meiji reforms, Japanese intellectuals have been confronted with the collapse of traditional Japanese political and social structures, accompanied by the insidious threat posed by the hegemonic discourse of the West. In response, the Japanese would formulate a conception of Japaneseness that would, in part, insulate themselves from Western universalizing discourse.

In this response to change, there are invariably tensions between traditionalists and modernists. Most of the *nihonjinron* theorists can be classified as traditionalists, seeking continuity and security in a time of rapid change. Many of the anti-*nihonjinron* writers are modernists, rejecting any 'hiding in' or glorification of the past, and exhorting Japan to view itself as a progressive member of the modern international community. These are the two simplified poles. The government is ambivalent, officially supporting modernisation and internationalisation while tacitly encouraging *nihonjinron* ideas. Probably, most Japanese people are just as ambivalent, welcoming some aspects of modernity and ruing the loss of some aspects of tradition.

As far as identities are concerned, the *nihonjinron* ideas, internationalisation and all the other ideas discussed in chapters 3 and 4 are provided as guidelines for the individual, but the ultimate construction of identities is the responsibility of the individual alone. The result is considerable variation between individuals in national, international, global and cultural identities. In education, the various identities are all currently being promoted by Monbusho, as described in section 4.4. In the following chapters, Monbusho and student perspectives on each of these identities, as they are being constructed by junior high school students today, will be more fully explored.

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Chapter 5

The development of identities through childhood in Japan

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It is impossible to understand the construction of national and international identities by junior high school students without first taking a closer look at the development of identities in general through earlier stages of education. In this chapter, the aim is to survey the relevant literature on early stages of education in order to provide a background for the following chapters. This is not a comprehensive survey of the literature on Japanese education, as discussion will be limited to those areas directly relevant to preceding and following chapters. In this respect, this chapter should serve as a bridge between theory-led chapters 1 to 4 and data-led chapters 6 to 11.

The chapter will be structured by chronological divisions of childhood, beginning with infancy and moving through pre-school and elementary school stages to finish with a description of pertinent issues at the junior high school stage. Identities encompass ways of acting, speaking, thinking, seeing and feeling. It is these 'ways' which shape the construction of all identities, from gender and family identities to national and international identities. Each section will cover how these ways of being and living are developed at each stage of education.

5.1 Infancy

As Lebra & Lebra (1986: 197) emphasise in an introduction to research on the socialisation of Japanese infants:

> Japanization begins on the very day of the child's birth, if not earlier.

At this first stage of socialisation, the child is firmly situated not only in the centre of his/her own world, but also at the centre of his/her chief caretaker's world. The chief caretaker is generally expected to devote a lot of time and energy to the child. In so far as the daily routines and surrounding environment are adapted to the perceived needs of the infant, the infant could be said to hold primary control over the primary caretaker (see section 1.2). The adult caretaker co-operates in this process by responding to the baby's signals immediately, as Hendry (1986: 99) observes:

> Through.... physical contact, and by careful observation, mothers and other caretakers try to anticipate the baby's needs and attend to them before it has a chance to get anxious.

As the infant grows up and becomes aware of this control over the chief caretaker, a relationship of *amae* develops (see section 4.2). This is where the child uses his/her power in the relationship to influence the action of the caretaker. Although *amae* is discouraged in inappropriate circumstances as the child grows older, it is very much

encouraged at the stage of infancy in relationships with the mother and other caretakers. In fact, it is considered essential as a sign of the healthily close relationship of the caretaker and the child. The reason is explained by Caudill & Weinstein (1986: 204), in a contrast of Japanese and American views of infants:

> In Japan, the infant is seen more as a separate biological organism who from the beginning, in order to develop, needs to be drawn into increasingly interdependent relations with others. In America, the infant is seen more as a dependent biological organism who, in order to develop, needs to be made increasingly independent of others.

In this stage of Japanese infancy, there are obvious parallels with Piaget's notions of the egocentric child (Wadsworth 1989: 69), but in Japan this stage is positively viewed as natural and necessary. The child is accepted as naturally egocentric, and the world is adapted to fit the child.

A crucial notion to be developed in the Japanese infant in these early years is the idea that, "I am secure". The key element here is security in relationships, or the development of basic trust. Hendry (1986: 97) writes that:

> Relations established at this time are considered to be the primary foundations of basic trust in other human beings, and trust and goodwill are essential if compliancy with authority is to be achieved in a child.

This is reminiscent of Erikson's first stage of 'trust versus mistrust' (宮川知彰, *Miyakawa Tomoaki*, 1989: 101). Without this basic trust, children will experience difficulties in forming relationships with others and consequently will be unable to operate successfully in society. Fujita (1989: 74) underlines this point:

> Whether or not a child can later build successful relationships with others depends on how much time, affection, and love the mother has given to the child.

In Japanese families, this security is established in the first instance by means of immediate response to the baby's needs and by a high degree of physical contact (Caudill & Weinstein 1986: 236). This security is strengthened by the atmosphere in the home. Rohlen (1989: 19) contrasts Japanese and American mothers' attitudes to children:

> The Japanese mother seeks to avoid confrontation with the child's will and much less frequently expresses her anger directly... Anger and the assertion of authority are avoided because they will alienate the child from its bond with the mother.

Through relationships of trust, the idea of membership of a family group is developed. Beyond the dyadic relationship with the mother are relationships with father, siblings and possibly grandparents. This family group is the first group to which the infant belongs. Even at this early stage, the concepts of *uchi* (inside) and *soto* (outside) (see section 4.2) are introduced and developed. The family and home are portrayed as safe and secure. The outside is often portrayed, by contrast, as dangerous. Security is found on the inside of the group, and the challenge of venturing outside into the wider world is not particularly encouraged.

5.2 Pre-school

The main role of pre-school is to teach the young child how to be an individual within a group situation, and to develop aspects of the self which, it is thought, cannot be developed in the home environment (野呂正, *Noro Shou*, 1992: 147). In order to do this, peer socialisation becomes important. Peak (1991: 165) and Tobin, Wu & Davidson (1989: 65) point out that pre-school teachers consciously endeavour to deflect children's attention from the teacher to classmates. Kotloff (1996: 106) gives a concrete example of how this is done through the daily whole-class meeting:

> ...the teachers conducted Morning Class Meeting as a discussion within and between the peer group, rather than as a series of dyadic teacher-pupil exchanges. They engineered the discussions so that children presented their projects and offered their suggestions and comments to their peers rather than to her. By mediating their praise through the peer groups and by modeling and shaping positive peer group responses, they enabled each child to receive the esteem of the group, not simply of the teacher.

At the pre-school level, at least, the teacher still gives a great deal of indirect support to children to encourage them to praise, discipline, help and support each other. By managing the group from backstage, the teacher nurtures in the children not only awareness of and concern for each other, but also a sense of responsibility and duty towards each other. The fruits of this 'backstage support' are evident in children's informal interactions with each other. Teachers rarely involve themselves in children's disputes, only intervening if either child is in danger of suffering more than minor physical damage (Peak 1991: 159). This leads to the suggestion, voiced by Holloway (1988: 340), that:

> ..it is apparent that the teaching of rules and procedures and the extensive use of the peer group for socialization purposes diminish the teacher's

> role as disciplinarian, leading to a sense of responsibility and empowerment on the part of Japanese children.

However, the emphasis on peer socialisation and the group does not mean that the child's individuality or independence are suppressed or discouraged. The individual child's character, likes, dislikes, habits and so on are well-known by the teacher, as evidenced by the daily exchange of notes on the child between parent and child (Boocock 1989: 59). Independence is constantly encouraged, but its connotations diverge from the Western use of the term, as Peak (1991: 71) notes:

> In the Japanese context, independence does not connote "going one's own way", social isolation, or personal autonomy. Applied to preschool children within the classroom environment, independence (*jishu*) and self-reliance (*jiritsu*) are the opposites of childish dependency and *amae*-based expectations of unnecessary assistance and indulgent attention from the teacher... independence and self-reliance are cited as important habits for the Japanese child to cultivate in learning to become a member of a group.

As suggested here, the development of independence and self-reliance are considered as habits, and this is important in the pre-school. Habits are the substance of 'the right way' of behaving. The notion of the right way, as explained in section 3.3, has its roots in Buddhist and Confucian philosophies. Establishing a sense of this right way is one of the goals of early education. Schools and pre-schools provide an environment where children can learn the 'right way' to act, speak, think and feel. Rohlen (1989: 21) describes the process of learning the right way in the early years:

> Order is shaped gradually by repeated practice of selected daily tasks... that socialize the children to high degrees of neatness and uniformity.

The shaping of this order is not left to chance. Hendry (1986: 134) outlines the teacher's role in a description of the daily morning routine of changing shoes and recording attendance:

> ..it is the ritual element which is notable here. Children are actually shown the proper way to do all these things..

On a larger scale, there is also a fixed, ordered cycle of seasonal and national events celebrated in pre-school through songs, stories, activities and festivals. Tobin (1992) assesses the significance of this cycle of events:

> Holidays and seasons are stressed and formally and ceremonially enjoyed, thus introducing preschool children to the nationally shared rhythms by which Japanese of all ages move through their lives.

Learning the right way is thus laid across the stepping stones of the daily and annual routines. Peak (1991: 65) explains the rationale for imbuing routine and ritual with such importance:

> The best way to develop good character and ethical behavior is to train oneself in its habits through attention to correct performance of daily routine. Children can acquire good character and ethical behavior through repeated practice in a conducive environment, and providing such an environment is one of the primary goals of the preschool curriculum.

Another primary goal of the pre-school curriculum is to develop *kejime*. *Kejime* is defined by Bachnik (1992: 155) as follows:

> ..the ability to *shift* successfully from spontaneous to disciplined behavior, through identification of a particular situation along an "inner" or "outer" axis, is a crucial social skill for Japanese, which must be learned in order for one to function as an adult. It makes sense that this ability to shift - or *kejime* - is also a major pedagogical focus in Japanese education... If one could grasp how a preschool child actually "knows" *kejime* one could also grasp an essential requirement for a "shifting" organization of self and society.

Contrary to Bachnik's assumption that a pre-school child just "knows" *kejime*, experts on Japanese pre-school education concur that an awareness of *kejime* is consciously and deliberately developed. It begins with the distinction between pre-school and home environments. This is done firstly through the use of physical space. For example, each child keeps a pair of shoes by the classroom door specifically to wear in the pre-school. As the child leaves the parent in the morning to enter pre-school, s/he changes from outdoor shoes into indoor pre-school shoes (Sano 1989: 129). This is an effective way of marking the boundary between inside and outside, pre-school and home. It also marks a sense of belonging. The boundary between pre-school and home is also marked by ritual. As each child arrives at the pre-school, child and parent formally greet the waiting teacher, bowing and using set ritual phrases. Once this greeting is over, the pre-school day has begun. A similar ritual is typical at the end of the day (Hendry 1986: 138). This clear boundary-marking between home and pre-school environments is one aspect of *kejime*. A further aspect is the use of daily routine to nurture *kejime*. As Peak (1991: 78) describes:

> Many times each day, the tempo and tenor of activity fluctuates between a tight and a loose structure. Chaotic periods of free play are followed by silent, formal ritual. In Japanese preschools the measure of good discipline is not an overall low level of noise and controlled activity but a

> quick and precise maintenance of the boundaries between two radically different levels of order...

This interweaving of *kejime* into daily routine is reinforced by specific boundary-marking practices such as changing clothes and rearranging tables and chairs. For pre-school children, *kejime* is not a natural ability, but a consciously developed skill. At the pre-school level, *kejime* is still fairly basic, requiring shifts between home and pre-school environments, and between quiet and noisy sessions of the day. Even at this early stage, however, *kejime* leads to a sense of situationally-specific behaviour. This early ability to adapt behaviour and attitude to different situations can be perceived as an ability to shift identities, between the formal and informal selves, as well as between the *amaeru* self of home and the group-member self of pre-school.

Throughout the socialisation process of learning the right way and *kejime*, the underlying philosophy is that children are good. The idea of inherent goodness derives from Shinto beliefs and was discussed in section 3.2. Young children, in particular, are seen as pure and unspoilt, and the general view is that their goodness may be adversely affected or even destroyed through adult control and constant supervision (Sano 1989: 128). For this reason, the notion of naughtiness or badness is rarely expressed. When a child does something which in the UK would be construed as naughty or bad, the Japanese caretaker attributes the action to the fact that the child does not yet understand or is not yet competent and requires further practice (Peak 1991: 131). Added to the general belief that children are good is the assumption that children naturally want to be good. The idea of wanting to be good is not unfamiliar to Western theories of identity development, appearing as it does in Kohlberg's stages of moral reasoning (Kohlberg 1987). However, this idea forms the mainstay of Japanese children's identities, as it is the foundation upon which their desire to co-operate and conform to society's expectations is built. The desire to be good is nurtured within the environment of security and affection which characterised the stage of infancy. Conroy et al. (1980: 165), in a study of maternal strategies for influencing children's behaviour, concluded that:

> Early socialization in Japan relies on close personal/ interpersonal ties and a climate of affection and interdependence leading to identification with the goals and values of the group.

Children's attachment to the group and their desire to be good, combined with teacher non-authoritarianism, mean that, for the child, there is really little alternative to being good. Peak (1991: 190) touches upon this point:

> Japanese children soon learn... that to resist the system is to battle an army of friendly shadows. Authority resides with no one, and to change the collective habits of the group requires an impossible effort. To escape or rebel is to sever social contact with those who provide daily companionship and the warmth of social life.

This is a theme which recurs throughout the child's, and adult's, participation in institutional life.

The child entering pre-school is typically self-centred, secure but unaccustomed to life outside the family life. Through their introduction to group life, children begin to balance primary control (peer socialisation) with the seeds of secondary control (conformity to the right way, *kejime*). Throughout this process, children find themselves in an affectionate, caring group, in which they are rarely labelled as naughty or bad. Rather, it is assumed that they want to be good, they want to be part of the group, and that, if they try to follow the right way, they will succeed in being good. By the end of pre-school, the child will be familiar with the foundational philosophies of Japanese education, upon which the rest of his/her school life will be built.

5.3 Elementary school

The third stage of childhood begins in the April after the child's sixth birthday, when s/he enters elementary school. The first day of school is seen as a major transition point in the child's life and is marked by an entrance ceremony and commemorative photo at school, and by gifts of money, stationery and so on at home. In elementary school, the curriculum consists of 6-8 separately taught subjects plus moral education and class activities. Children study all subjects with their class group, and all teaching is done by their class teacher. Textbooks used in school are authorised by Monbusho, and there is little variation from school to school in the content of the curriculum. As in pre-school, social and emotional development are priorities, and there is an emphasis on educating 'the whole child'. Many of the themes which emerged as important at the pre-school stage are followed through and developed at elementary school.

In the elementary school, the child is a member of various groups. The smallest of these is the 班 (*han*), a group of 4-6 students within the class. In elementary school, the *han* are deliberately arranged so that children of different academic levels and different characters are working together. A substantial proportion of class time is spent on group work in *han*. However, the *han*'s function is not purely an academic one, as Stevenson & Lee (1995: 160) point out:

> Members of the han work together in many other activities, such as in cleaning the classroom and serving food, and in games and discussions. Participation in the han is a central feature of the children's everyday lives in school and leads to a strong identification with the han, the class, and the school. Because of this identification with a group, the motivation of slow learners to work hard and perform well may be enhanced and the eagerness of the fast learners to help their slower classmates may be increased.

From the *han*, children can extend their group membership to the class and on to the school. Elementary (and junior high school) teachers invest a great deal of time and effort in creating the class group, and countless manuals of advice and techniques are available on the subject (e.g. 浅野誠編, *Asano Makoto*, 1983; 家本芳郎, *Iemoto Yoshirou*, 1989). Sense of membership of the whole-school group is facilitated through school events (such as sports days and festivals) and through school assemblies. In the upper grades, the scene of group membership is complicated by the advent of clubs and committees. The membership of these clubs and committees cuts across classes and years, widening the child's sphere of activity. A final school group is the neighbourhood group, which forms a bridge between home and school. Children of the same neighbourhood walk to school together each day, with pupils of the upper grades responsible for the younger children.

Membership of all the above groups is based on face-to-face contact. At elementary school, children are also introduced to the larger groups to which they belong. This is done primarily through the social studies curriculum, as Yamane (1996: 33) reports:

> The content matter of social studies teaching in elementary school is basically organised on the principle of an expanding study of the environment , in which the third grade focus on social units at the level of the city, town or village, the fourth grade focus on the prefecture, the fifth grade on the level of the nation, and the sixth grade on Japanese history, government, and international relationships.

It is significant that, although the Monbusho general guidelines for elementary school recommend internationalisation, the curriculum does not include any study of foreign languages and virtually no study of foreign countries until the sixth grade (文部省 1989h). In the moral education curriculum, no mention of foreign countries or people appears until the fifth and sixth grades, although a national element is introduced from the third grade (ibid).

Although the curriculum is based on ever-widening circles from the child's own experience, it is questionable whether students actually identify themselves as members

of the groups they study. The crucial difference between identity as a member of school groups and identity as a member of the prefecture or nation at the elementary school level is the amount of emotional investment made in those identities. As at pre-school, emotional attachment to elementary school groups is considered vital. The importance of friendship between classmates is stressed (e.g. 磯貝芳郎, *Isogai Yoshirou*, 1992). Likewise, the relationship between teacher and pupils should not be just a professional one. In a study of probationary teachers, Shimahara & Sakai (1992: 157) highlight the significance of emotional links between teacher and pupil:

> The starting point of ethnopedagogy is the appreciation of the feelings by teachers that shape children's lives - the emotional commitment by teachers to children, which leads to the fostering of the bond between teachers and children. The attachment that evolves from this bond is marked by the shared feelings of inclusiveness and trust. Interns come to learn that effective teaching is governed by the ligature, and that developing it takes precedence over technical competence in teaching.

As far as emotional investment in social identities is concerned, regional and national identities cannot compete with the face-to-face sphere.

Emotional commitment to the group helps to ensure that children fulfil their responsibilities and roles in the group. Children are made aware of their responsibilities through the 当番 (*touban*) system, in which children take turns to serve school lunch, lead the class in 挨拶 (*aisatsu*, ritual greetings) and so on. Children are encouraged to recognise their responsibility for their classmates, a continuation of the peer socialisation of pre-school. Responsibility for decisions about class activities and rules is also shared by students. Lewis (1995: 119) assesses the importance attached to student responsibility:

> Teachers' reluctance to use direct control and their hard work to see that class norms emerge "naturally" from the children may create a classroom situation in which it is very hard for children to attribute their behavior to adult control and very easy for children to think of themselves as responsible, good children committed to norms they've helped to shape.

This involvement of pupils in responsibility for others and for their environment provides the opportunity for children to exercise primary control. This element of primary control is balanced by the further development of secondary control (see section 1.2). The idea of 'the right way', introduced in pre-school, continues in elementary school. Pupils have to conform to the way things are done at school. For example, a significant proportion of the first few weeks of school is spent learning to arrange books on the desk, answer questions, begin and end class and so on. This idea of the right way is not restricted to social procedures, but is also apparent in the treatment of curriculum

content. For example, Reys, Reys and Koyama (1996: 427) find that in the elementary school maths textbooks, only one correct method for addition and subtraction is presented to pupils. This is true even for mental computation.

The assumption that there is a right way to which everyone is aspiring means that there can be shared values and goals. These are very prominent in the classroom, as Lewis (1995: 44) stresses:

> To enter a Japanese elementary classroom is to confront many clear, explicit values.

Classroom walls are often literally covered with values and goals. Hamilton et al. (1989) put the existence of such explicit goals into the context of a morality of aspiration, contrasted with a morality of duty (see section 1.2). In order to be engaged in a morality of aspiration, pupils need to have a sense of commitment to their goals, and a high level of intrinsic motivation. Motivation deriving from genuine commitment to good behaviour is encouraged far more than appeal to rewards and punishments (Lewis 1995: 102). Holloway (1988: 341) claims that this early motivation is the key to later success:

> ..the Japanese appear to ensure later academic and professional achievements by developing in the early years qualities of perseverance and commitment which will provide the motivational framework for acquiring whatever skills are necessary to obtain success.

'The right way' thus involves not only the right way to act and speak, but also the right way to think and the right way to see and feel. In addition, elementary school students have to make the distinction between ways of seeing self and ways of seeing others. The use of personal aims and the importance accorded to commitment mean that children are expected to set higher standards for themselves than they expect of others. In comparison with American fifth grade students, Hamilton et al. (1989: 67) found that:

> It appears that Japanese children are inclined to guide others by reward and praise in areas where American children enforce standards. Conversely, they are more ready to feel bad about personal rule violations or nonperformances than their American counterparts. Japanese children expect more of themselves than they enforce on others.

While Japanese children treat others as they are treated, then, they concurrently learn to view themselves more critically. 反省 (*hansei*), or self-reflection, plays a vital role in learning this distinction. *Hansei*, which is a critical feature of junior high school life, is already widely practised at elementary school, and leads to greater self-awareness and self-improvement. This development of self is a theme which becomes even more prominent at later stages of education. Even at elementary school, though, pupils are

expected to begin to develop and change themselves to fit to the expectations and 'ways' of elementary school. This element of secondary control complements and balances the elements of primary control evident in peer socialisation and student responsibility.

5.4 Junior high school

The fourth stage of childhood begins in the April following the pupil's twelfth birthday. With few exceptions, the transition to junior high school is automatic, based on locality. There are no entrance examinations and no competition for places in state schools. At junior high school, pupils are again organised into class groups. As in elementary schools, they have a class teacher who is responsible for their general welfare and their moral education classes, and they take all lessons together. There is no differentiation by academic ability. Organisationally, the main difference from elementary school is that different subjects are taught by different teachers. Another major difference is that club activities become an integral part of school life. This means that the school day of the junior high school student is considerably longer than that of the elementary school student. For the junior high school student, it is quite normal to be in school from 7.45am to 5.45pm on weekdays, as well as a considerable proportion of the weekends and holidays. As in elementary school, variation from school to school in academic curriculum is minimal, as the curriculum and textbooks are controlled by Monbusho. The curriculum basically consists of eight core subjects plus optional hours which are mainly used for English, plus moral education and special activities.

At the elementary school level, group membership was based on face-to-face contact, although the wider groups of town, prefecture and nation were introduced theoretically through the social studies curriculum. At junior high school, these larger groups gain in significance for students, contributing to their sense of identity. Through study of national and world geography and history (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989f), through civic education (ibid), through foreign language study (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989c) and through the moral education syllabus (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989e), students are challenged to construct identities in a much wider sphere than face-to-face contact allows, including the international sphere. Monbusho's emphasis on internationalisation has spawned a range of books on how to implement the official recommendations in schools (e.g. in social studies 大津和子, *Ootsu Kazuko*, 1992; 澁澤文隆, *Shibusawa Fumitaka*, 1990; in foreign languages 佐々木輝雄編, *Sasaki Teruo*, 1994; 和田稔編, *Wada Minoru (ed.)* 1991; in moral education 山口和孝, *Yamaguchi Kazutaka*, 1993; 安澤順一郎編, *Anzawa Junichirou (ed.)*, 1994). In practical terms, too, students are

operating in a wider sphere with school trips to other parts of the country and participation in district and prefectural competitions, and possibly even regional and national contests. A minority of students also have the opportunity to take part in trips abroad through the junior high school. In real terms, then, the students' field of vision has widened.

Still, there may remain a qualitative difference between identities in school groups and identities in the national and world spheres. The individual has little, if any, influence over the larger, more distant spheres of nation and international society. S/he cannot change the actions or values of the group through personal intervention. This is a contrast to the earlier experiences of group membership, where individuals were encouraged to contribute to all decisions affecting the group. Commitment to the immediate group is facilitated by this process of decision-making and acceptance of responsibility in the group, that is, through primary control. By contrast, in order to make the wider social identities (regional, national, international and so on) meaningful to themselves, students would have to adopt strategies of secondary rather than primary control.

Although a much wider range of identities come to be significant at junior high school, the central focus is still, naturally, on the immediate school groups. As at elementary school, student responsibility is still encouraged in all areas. LeTendre (1995: 179) explores the notion of responsibility in a passage which also elucidates the relationship between self and the group:

> Understanding oneself in a Japanese school means having a strong awareness of one's role and responsibility in a group, whether it be a class preparing for the entrance exams, a team readying for a sports festival, or a choir practising for the choral contest. Awareness of responsibilities and character development are simultaneous. To promote a child's sense of self is to promote a child's sense of duty, responsibility, and awareness of his or her capacities.

Fulfilling responsibilities, and developing character and capacities, all involve adherence to 'the right way' of behaviour and attitude. As at elementary school, the right way to behave is transmitted to and constructed by students through the use of aims, explicit instruction/learning and peer socialisation. Also added is a code of discipline far stricter than that which existed in elementary school. This code of discipline is twofold, comprising school-imposed rules and regulations and the development of self-discipline. The two strands of discipline are complementary in that the numerous school rules provide a framework for student self-discipline. Self-discipline is built on the

foundations of 'the right way' laid in pre-school and elementary school. Emerging from the Confucian *li* (see section 3.3), the development of self-discipline means the acquisition of the tissue of doing the right things in the right way with the right attitude. Self-discipline encompasses the entire spectrum of junior high school life. For example, there is a right way to study, and many books aimed at junior high school students are written on the subject in Japan (e.g. 石井郁男, *Ishii Ikuo*, 1987; 東京大学学習効率研究会編, *Tokyo University Effective Learning Research Group (ed.)*, 1991). There is also a right way to dress, speak, behave and so on, and close attention is paid to every detail. Aberrations in even the smallest detail are major rather than minor, because every detail reflects the whole. LeTendre (1995: 177) notes that:

> Uniforms and strict rules of deportment are also used as treatment for minor problems... Several times teachers expressed to me the concern that sloppy dress indicated a lassitude of spirit. If students were meticulous in their dress and deportment (loudly greeting each other in the morning, bowing with military precision) the atmosphere of the school would be taut or "tense". This tension was seen as a useful force in maintaining positive behavior.

The "tension" referred to here is self-discipline. If students have self-discipline, then this will be evident in every aspect of their appearance and behaviour. That is, they will conform to the expectations of 'the right way' to be a junior high school student. The route to self-discipline often involves suffering of one form or another. This suffering can be physical, an example being the intensive training of club activities. It can be emotional, such as problems in relations with other students. It can be mental, as in the case of preparation for examinations. Whatever form it takes, students become stronger and more mature through the self-discipline learned through suffering. Kondo (1992: 45) describes the process in general terms:

> [The process of maturation] is an arduous one. It means having to undergo hardship (*kuro*) for only in this way will the inner self be tempered; only in this way will the hard edges of immaturity be planed into the roundness of adulthood... The hardship of a young person in "training for the university entrance exams can be a form of *kuro*.

For junior high school students, the university entrance exams are still distant, but high school entrance exams, for third year students at least, are an imminent reality, demanding strict self-discipline.

In overcoming hardship, the right attitude, or the right way of thinking and seeing, is to 頑張る (*gambaru*), to persevere and be prepared to try willingly and without giving up (Singleton 1989, Holloway 1988). The emphasis of effort over ability continues to give students a sense of control over their own capacities and life-course. In this respect,

mastery of the right attitude is an antidote to mastery of the right way to behave. The former exemplifies primary control, the latter secondary control, and the two co-exist in the junior high school student's life. Complementary to this process of conformity to the right way and the right attitude is the concept of self-reflection, or introspection, which comes to the fore at junior high school. Developing self-knowledge is a theme which runs throughout junior high school, as LeTendre (1995: 178) explains:

> For most Japanese teachers, guiding students in attaining self-knowledge is a crucial part of the curriculum as is instilling such qualities as *gambare* (endurance) or *omoiyari* (thoughtfulness)...

One of the most common techniques used to promote self-knowledge is *hansei* (self-reflection), which was described in section 5.3. *Hansei* can be either written or verbal. Fukuzawa (1996: 308) explains how *hansei* is used to reinforce the idea of the right way:

> *Hansei* may be translated as "reflection", but the term has overtones of self-criticism and confession measured against the yardstick of socially defined norms of behavior and emotions... Reflection essays assess student attitudes toward school in order to determine understanding of the fundamental lessons of middle school life: the importance of cooperation, group life, doing one's utmost, and the value of all work. Just as there is a "correct" life-style, so there are "correct" emotions for particular events.

Hansei is a constantly recurring feature of junior high school life. At the end of every day, students reflect on the day's activities in a homeroom session. After a major event, such as a sports competition or school trip, students reflect on their own performance and attitude (Kuwayama 1996: 111). Each year ends with a class magazine full of students' reflections on the year. After an incident such as bullying or theft, the perpetrators are made to write *hansei* (LeTendre 1996: 279). Through *hansei*, students are supposed to discover their own weak and strong points, realise their own attitudes and values, and compare themselves to the ideal of 'the good student'. In attempting to change the self to fit the image of 'the good student', students are acquiring secondary control.

The development of self-reflection, self-discipline and desirable ways of acting, thinking and feeling are encouraged in schools through the tradition and system of 指導 (*shidou*), or guidance. Teachers have a huge responsibility to guide their students in all aspects of their lives. Lifestyle guidance, academic guidance and careers guidance are incorporated into *shidou*, and all fall under the school's remit (Shimizu 1992, Fukuzawa 1996, LeTendre 1996, 高野清純 (*Takano Seijun*) 1994). This means that teachers and

schools have a central role in developing students' identities and sense of self in the immediate and wider world.

5.5 Summary

The development of students' identities is guided by the ways in which they learn to act, speak, think, see and feel through childhood. Many of these 'ways' are consciously developed from the earliest stages. A sense of belonging to the group is nurtured from infancy. With the extension of groups comes the development of *kejime*, and an increased awareness of *uchi* and *soto*. Within the group, both primary control (through the assumption of responsibility, peer socialisation) and secondary control (through adaptation of the self to the 'right way', self-discipline) are encouraged.

Within and outside the group, human relations are paramount. Relationships of trust and affection are approved from infancy onwards, and emotional attachment is expected at school as well as in the home environment. The self is developed within this web of human relations.

All of the ideas of self appearing in this chapter will feature again in chapters 7 to 11, in greater depth and supported by data. However, I hope that this chapter has served to introduce and summarise a few themes, and to emphasise the fact that the various identities to be discussed in the following chapters have deep roots in the earlier stages of education.

Chapter 6

Methodology

6.1 Origins and rationale

In this section, the following questions will be answered:

- How did the study come about?
- How, when and why did the original aims and focus of the study change?
- Why was an ethnographic approach chosen to conduct the study in preference to other approaches?

Firstly, the study originated largely by chance. As I was finishing an MA which focused on foreign language learning, I obtained a post teaching English in Japanese junior high schools. Completely ignorant of the Japanese education system, I began reading, but soon discovered that the literature on the junior high school stage in particular was sparse. Although it was frustrating not to be able to find out what I had let myself in for in accepting the post, I realised that I was in an ideal situation and had an ideal subject area to do a PhD.

At the beginning, I had no fixed hypotheses about Japanese education, only the stereotypes promoted by the media in the UK, balanced by autobiographical accounts of Japanese friends and the little literature I had read. As I began the fieldwork at the very beginning of the PhD, my acquaintance with the literature on Japanese education and so on was developed concurrently with, rather than in preparation to, the collection and analysis of data. The way I began my experience in Japanese schools fits accurately the description by Wilcox (1982: 459):

> One begins fieldwork not with a tabula rasa but with a foreshadowed problem in mind. However, the problem is of necessity general in scope. Because one is attempting to understand a system in its own terms, according to its own criteria of meaningfulness, one cannot predict in advance precisely which aspects of the system will have significance or the kind of significance they will have.... It is crucial to begin the research without specifically predetermined categories of observation, questionnaires, precise hypotheses, and so on.

I did begin with a "foreshadowed problem". My MA research had examined the teaching and learning of culture within foreign language study. I intended to explore the same area in Japanese junior high schools, looking at students' perceptions of and attitudes to foreign cultures through a focus on foreign language teaching. However, I also came to Japan with the attitude described above by Wilcox, an attitude of openness and willingness to change the parameters and focus of the study according to the circumstances, and the system's own terms.

Within a month of beginning fieldwork, and teaching English, I realised that focusing on English teaching to discover students' attitudes to foreign cultures was far too limited. To begin with, the amount of teaching of culture in English classes was negligible, as lessons were heavily dominated by the teaching of key sentences and grammar points. And yet, internationalisation was a buzzword in education, and there was an obvious interest in foreign countries and cultures in the school. I dropped the focus on foreign language teaching and widened my view to include other subjects. It was only a matter of weeks until I realised that this, too, was too narrow a field of vision. For the teachers and for the students, the academic curriculum is only one aspect of junior high school life, and limitation of my study to the academic sphere carried with it the risk of a distorted and fragmentary construction of the students' attitudes and perceptions. Within weeks, my narrow 'foreshadowed problem', which had seemed so clear and neat when I explained it in the PhD proposal, had expanded to encompass all aspects of junior high school life.

Simultaneously, I realised that I would not be able to understand Japanese junior high school students' and teachers' perceptions of foreign cultures and countries without understanding the context in which those perceptions were made. At that stage, time constraints were minimal, and I abandoned all pretence of 'foreshadowed problems' to learn as much as I could about as many aspects of school as I could from as many people as I could. After about a year, I felt that I was beginning to understand something of what was happening all around me, and I began to narrow my PhD field of vision back towards internationalisation. By this stage, my interest in the relationship between what students are supposed to be taught (Monbusho guidelines) and what students actually think, say and do had deepened. So had my interest in the relationship between national identity and international/ global identity, and the relationship between identity in the immediate world of class and school and identity in the wider world of the nation and the globe. The change of focus from 'attitudes and perceptions' to 'identities' was caused by the realisation that, for the people in the junior high school, attitudes and perceptions are only one aspect of identity. To understand what internationalisation means to these particular individuals, I had to look not only at their attitudes to, or ways of seeing, foreigners and foreign cultures, but also at their ways of feeling, thinking, acting and speaking... in other words, at their selves. The root of the attitudes, rather than the attitudes themselves, became the priority.

From the beginning to the end of the fieldwork, then, the theme of 'Japanese junior high school students and foreign cultures and people' retained its place, but the final study is very different to the one I vaguely envisioned at the beginning. The focus on small parts

- 'attitudes' and 'foreign cultures' - was impossible without an understanding of the whole. The original 'foreshadowed problem', therefore, was pushed far beyond its limits and temporarily abandoned in an attempt to construct an image of its context. Only then could it be returned to, in a form more suitable to its natural surroundings, to be put in place within that context.

As far as methodology was concerned, the decision to use an ethnographic approach to the research was governed by several factors. At a practical level, I had used qualitative techniques in my MA research, and so had some familiarity with the literature on qualitative methodology. More importantly, the choice of qualitative methods seemed appropriate to the conditions of the research. In a criticism of the overuse of quantitative methods in education, Spindler (1982: 3) states that:

> ...experimental and correlational approaches that isolate variables from context and overlook the all-important dimensions of meaning in human behavior have been overworked.

It seemed that, for a study which focused on context and meaning, qualitative methods were more suitable.

The ethnographic approach within the qualitative paradigm was selected for its hermeneutic qualities. Agar (1986: 12) writes that:

> The social research style that emphasizes encountering alien cultures and making sense of them is called *ethnography*, or "folk description". Ethnographers set out to show how social action in one world makes sense from the point of view of another. Such work requires an intensive personal involvement, an abandonment of traditional scientific control, an improvisational style to meet situations of the researcher's making, and an ability to learn from a long series of mistakes.

To me, Japan was an alien culture. Eight hours a day in school for two years assured intensive personal involvement, and provided opportunities to learn from plenty of mistakes. I had no control, scientific or otherwise, over situations in the school. Most importantly, I saw the research as an attempt to make sense of a particular cultural setting in its own terms, and then to present that sense to a different cultural audience. To use Asad's (1986: 160) terms, the idea of the process of constructing and then translating a cultural text dovetailed most neatly with the situation in which I found myself. The construction of the text of what internationalisation means to Japanese junior high school students in their own terms, and the interpretation and translation of that text to make it culturally accessible to a foreign audience was the challenge offered by an ethnographic approach to the research topic. With this major decision made, I could move on to the nuts and bolts of actually doing the research.

6.2 Access, settings, 'subjects'

In this section, the following questions will be dealt with:

- How was access to the research site obtained?
- Where were data collected?
- Who provided the data?

Access into the community in which ethnographic research is frequently portrayed as problematic (e.g. Hammersley and Atkinson 1983, Fetterman 1989). For me, this was not the case, as I had automatic access to the schools in which I collected data through my position as an English teacher there. Although access as a teacher was automatic, access as a researcher had to be negotiated through the school hierarchy and up to the town's Board of Education. I was fortunate enough to meet no opposition, and more approval and encouragement than I had hoped for, in this process of negotiation. One point which did have implications for field relations (see section 6.4) and ethical issues (see section 6.6), however, was that access as a teacher predated access as a researcher, and most teachers and all students saw me primarily in the role of 'foreign teacher', not 'foreign PhD student'.

In terms of location, I did not select the setting of the research, but had it selected for me through job placement. To protect the confidentiality of people concerned, identification of the location of research will be restricted to the fact that it was a medium-sized town in a rural area of northern Japan. I was employed in, and collected data from, four junior high schools in the area. Two of these schools were in the town, the other two in neighbouring villages. Most of the data I collected were from my base school, identified in the following chapters as 一中 (which literally means "first junior high", and is the part of the school name which distinguishes it from the town's other junior high school). It is relevant to note that 一中 is the largest of the four schools I taught in, with approximately 600 pupils, and it is the least rural of the four. Compared to the other three schools, the atmosphere of 一中 is tauter. Discipline is stricter and the pace is faster.

In relation to internationalisation, foreigners are not particularly common in the area, and we were the only Western family in the town. In two of the four schools, however, there were foreign or 'half-foreign' (one parent Japanese, one parent not) students. At 一中, there were two Chinese brothers and one Korean (possibly more). At one of the village schools, there was a student whose mother was Japanese and father was

American. Four students out of 1600, though, hardly constitutes a cosmopolitan community. In the following chapters, most of the quotes and discussion come from data collected at 一中. Where relevant, however, data from the other schools are included.

To turn to the question of who provided the data, I prefer not to use the terms 'subjects' or 'informants'. The reason is that such terms relegate the people involved in the research to a role in my study. The terms also suggest a relationship of power in which the researcher has control over the people involved. This was not the case in my experience, and I did not want it to be the case. As Spindler (1982: 490) notes:

> Too often social scientists have assumed (though usually unintentionally) a superior stance in relation to their "subjects". In ethnography, people are not subjects; they are experts on what the ethnographer wants to find out about and accordingly are treated with great respect and always in good faith.

I doubt whether a single person of the many who provided data saw him/herself as a 'subject' or 'informant' in relation to me or to my research. On the contrary, although they knew I was doing the research, it was largely irrelevant to their busy lives as teachers, students, PTA members and parents. As far as the research was concerned, the most accurate term to describe my status is probably what Walford (1991: 93) labels "an insignificant other". When teachers, students and parents willingly gave me their time, comments and opinions, it was usually as experts explaining to a novice of the Japanese education system, not as subjects or informants of a particular research project.

6.3 Data-collecting techniques

In this section, I will address the following question:

- What techniques were used to collect data from the schools? Why and how were they used?

The first element is participant observation. Taft (1988: 59) defines the role of participant observation within ethnography in the following way:

> The investigators' involvement in the normal activities of the group may be treated as a case of partial acculturation in which they acquire an insider's knowledge of the group through their direct experience of it. These experiences provide them with tacit knowledge which helps them to understand the significance to group members of their own behaviour and that of others and enables them to integrate their observations about

> that behaviour with information obtained from other sources such as interviews with informants and documentary material.

The scale and degree of acculturation and insider knowledge which can be obtained is dependent on the situation, as Patton (1987: 76) observes. Full participation, or the position of 'participant insider' was impossible for me to achieve. For obvious reasons, I could not be a full participant as a student. Neither was I a full 'insider' as a teacher. As I taught in four schools, I was seen as part-time in every school, a position which immediately distinguished me from other teachers. In addition, I had none of the multifarious club, committee and homeroom responsibilities of the other teachers, a fact which left me with a comparatively light workload and a sense of not being a 'proper' teacher. Finally, I was the only non-Japanese member of staff in all the schools. I was marginal. On the other hand, I was an insider in the sense that I had a position and role in each school, symbolised by my own desk in each staffroom and shoe locker in the staff entrance. My presence was considered natural, and I was expected or invited to participate in school events, school trips, assemblies and other aspects of daily school life, as well as staff meetings, staff parties and so on. On the continuum of participation, my position could best be described as 'participant outsider' - my participation in the life of the school was expected and considered natural, but never as a full insider. In this role of participant outsider, I watched, listened and asked questions, attended meetings and assemblies, made observation notes, observed and taped classes in various subjects, taught English and generally spent two years being in Japanese junior high schools.

In addition to participant observation, I used interviews to collect data. As Fetterman (1989: 50) asserts:

> Ethnographers use interviews to help classify and organize an individual's perception of reality.

Interviews are commonly divided into the three subsets of structured (or formal), semi-structured, or unstructured (informal), depending on the rigidity of their format and the degree of pre-decision of the questions to be asked. I did not use any structured or semi-structured interviews. The reason for this was that, as Berg (1995) observes:

> the research interview is not a natural communication interaction.

The level of artificiality imposed on a relationship by the use of formal interviews did not seem appropriate in the situation in which I was working. I felt that the use of formal interviews would push teachers and students into the role of 'subjects' of my research project, and would threaten the relationship I had with them. For these reasons, I chose to use informal interviews, which took the form of conversations. Through these interviews, I was able to clarify events which I had observed but not fully

understood, or gain alternative opinions and interpretations of issues which were relevant to school life. In practice, the distinction between interview and conversation was a blurred one, as the two often merged in interaction. My definition of an interview is that it brings up and answers questions which are relevant to the research. To quote Fetterman (1989: 49):

> ...informal interviewing feels like natural dialogue but answers the fieldworker's often unasked questions.

A further technique used to collect data, particularly from students, was questionnaires. These questionnaires were very important for exploring students' opinions and thoughts on topics which did not feature prominently in observable school life, for example, national and international identity. Although students are not accustomed to being interviewed by teachers or others, they are used to being asked to fill out various questionnaires in their everyday school life. This method of collecting data, as a result, was not artificial or strange to the students. In accordance with normal practice in the schools, however, I did not impose a long, time-consuming questionnaire on the students. Instead, I asked students to fill in 'mini-questionnaires' on several occasions throughout the two years. These mini-questionnaires aimed to discover students' thoughts and opinions on one or two questions, and were usually completed within ten to fifteen minutes. The format of the questionnaires was mainly open, encouraging students to express their own ideas in their own terms.

The fourth main technique of collecting data was through documents. As Fetterman (1989: 69) notes:

> In literate societies, written documents are one of the most valuable and timesaving forms of data collection.

This was certainly true in my experience. The volume of printed material circulated in schools is enormous. Furthermore, this material is comprehensive and detailed. It ranges from school policies to weekly aims, from yearly teaching schedules to individual lesson plans, from student guidance committee policies to accounts of student misdemeanours, from plans for school trips to student accounts of those trips, from statistics to teacher gossip, and so on. Simply by filing all the bits of paper that were put on my desk each day, I found that I had a rich fund of information on many aspects of school life in which I was not directly involved. In addition, student essays and work provided a further rich source of data to be used in conjunction with the other techniques.

All the techniques described above - participant observation, interviews, questionnaires and documents - were used simultaneously and complementarily. Retrospectively, I am sure that I could have collected better data, and collected them in better ways. I could have carried out more focused interviews, better informed observation, better designed questionnaires and so on. My data collection techniques, and the data I collected, are certainly not perfect. If I could start again now, I am sure that the study would be improved. Nevertheless, I think that the data I collected provide sufficient breadth and depth upon which to base an informed analysis of certain aspects of Japanese junior high school life.

6.4 Field relations, language and reflexivity

In this section, the following questions will be discussed:

- how important were relations with other people involved in the research, and what kind of relations existed?
- to what extent did Japanese language skills affect the research and the data collected?
- what is the significance of reflexivity?

The nature of an ethnographic approach to research means that personal relations with the people involved in the research are undeniably important. As mentioned earlier, I took the dual roles of teacher and researcher in the schools, and this had implications for field relations. It was natural that all teachers in the school saw me primarily as an English teacher. After all, that was what I had been brought to the schools to do and that was what I was being paid to do. In this respect, professional relations as a colleague prevailed although, for the reasons stated in the last section, I was always marginal to the groups and cliques of the staffroom. I never encountered any hostility or reticence from teachers. On the contrary, I was impressed by most teachers' friendliness and willingness to talk to me and let me observe their classes. At the same time, I think that most teachers did not really understand why I wanted to observe their classes, often telling me that I was welcome, but apologising that they were not doing anything special and the class would be boring to watch.

Overall, then, I was fortunate enough to have amicable relations with most teachers, and hostile relations with none. Some of the most valuable data, however, came from teachers with whom I developed closer relations. These were often teachers with whom I shared 'non-school' commonalties. Coincidental facts such as our children being in the

same class at nursery gave us common interests, which led to friendly relationships beyond pure colleague level, and consequently to greater trust and more talking about a wider range of topics. In general, such 'extra-colleagual' relationships were developed mainly with women teachers. Although I was, perhaps, given more leeway than my Japanese colleagues by virtue of my foreignness, I was still subject to the major gender and age restrictions, and access to the men's groups, beyond that of a colleague, would not have been possible. Similarly, it was not appropriate for me, as one of the younger, junior members of staff, to go and chat to the principal. Subsequently, I have little idea of his personal opinions beyond what was said, written and circulated to all the teachers.

The relationships I managed to establish with students were not as close as I would have liked them to have been. Circulating four schools, and teaching every pupil in every school, I would meet over 1600 students every month, and would teach each of them only once a month at the most. I did not even know all their names, let alone their personalities, their opinions and their ways of thinking. Although I was familiar to them, many students were, unfortunately, unknown to me beyond a face. The exceptions were the students who I got to know through connections outside school, the students who would come round to our apartment to play with our children, the students who would stop me in town to try out their English, and the students who stood out in class as different from the others. I tried to bridge the distance between me and the majority of students through close observation of one class, questionnaires, collection of student work, class newsletters and so on, in addition to my own teaching and other interactions with classes and individual students and involvement in the community. Nevertheless, the situation I was in meant that I could not get to know the students as well as all the teachers knew them, and this is one area which I would try to improve in the study if I could do it again.

Closely related to and affecting field relations are language skills. Agar's (1980: 101) reflection on the issue of language skills as treated in the ethnographic literature is still pertinent:

> Many authors emphasize the importance of language competence in ethnography, and they also note the new problems that are introduced when one must rely on an interpreter. Yet the literature is eerily quiet on the subject. I get the image of nervous ethnographers who are far from fluent trying not to bring the subject up.

Nine years later, the subject is still muffled, with Fetterman's (1989: 18) guide to ethnography mentioning only that:

> The ethnographer begins with a survey period to begin the basics: the native language, the kinship ties, census information, historical data, and the basic structure and function of the culture under study for the months to come.

Here, the native language is relegated to the survey period, which is a preliminary stage of Fetterman's suggested six months to two years in the field. The implication is that the native language can be mastered to a level sufficient to do research in that language within several months. This seems unrealistic. In my case, I had gatecrashed Japanese classes at Durham University for a year before beginning the PhD, and had learned a foundation of grammar, vocabulary and kanji. Yet, when I first arrived in Japan, I was struck only by my inability to fathom what was happening around me. Throughout my time in Japan, I continued intensive study of the language, using elementary school textbooks and workbooks to develop reading and writing skills, and all opportunities to listen and speak. In spite of this intensive study, my Japanese language skills were extremely limited for the first six months of the research, and during this period I relied heavily on English-speaking teachers to translate and explain things for me. As my linguistic and cultural abilities improved, I became able to develop independent relationships with non-English speaking colleagues and students, and to understand more of what was happening in the school. This point, however, did not mark the end of my period of language study, and I would argue against the suggestion that language study is limited to the initial stage of fieldwork. Five years after starting to study Japanese, I am still learning. Moreover, I am constantly rediscovering that refinement of intertwined linguistic and cultural skills leads to refinement of my understanding of what is going on in Japanese schools. Language competence, and its implications for the research, extend far beyond an initial area of study in the preliminary phase of the fieldwork.

In the final part of this section, I would like to turn to the issue of reflexivity. Ball (1988: 509) describes the basic issue of reflexivity in fieldwork based on participant observation:

> ...the participant observer's social relationships in "the field" are the basis for the collection and elicitation of data... The use of participant observation methods thus requires any researcher to take account of a whole range of social problems including confrontation with oneself as a research instrument. This personal dimension demands an awareness by researchers of the ways in which they are perceived by the researched.

In this sense, reflexivity is the making explicit and objectifying of the researcher's effects on the research setting and process. Hammersley (1984: 41) supports this definition, but adds a further two elements to his interpretation of reflexivity, arguing the need for:

> ... recognition that the researcher always has some impact on the setting he or she is studying, that the selectivity necessarily involved in research activity will shape the data and findings, and that researchers are by no means immune to the effects of interests and values. These three features open up research to a wide range of potential threats to validity, from reactivity of one kind or another to bias on the part of the researcher in interpreting the data. In this light the function of a reflexive account is to indicate the nature and likelihood of such threats, as well as outlining what has been and could be done to deal with them.

Again, reflexivity is portrayed as the ability to make explicit, objectify and neutralise the effects of the researcher on the research setting and on the collection, analysis and interpretation of data. According to this definition, being reflexive would involve consideration of my various roles in relation to the research setting. For example, I have already covered some of the implications of my position as a foreigner in a Japanese school, and of perceptions of my role as a teacher rather than a researcher. Likewise, I was constantly aware of the duality of my position as an agent of internationalisation in the school (and my belief in the value of internationalisation), and a student of the same phenomenon. In this respect, I was always conscious of the fact that social relationships in the school actually created data, and that many of the data I collected were influenced by my perceived role and position in the school.

On the surface level, then, I was conscientiously reflexive throughout the research process. However, there are several points relating to reflexivity which remain unresolved in my mind. The first is that the ethnographic literature only mentions the effects of the researcher on the research setting and data collected. I found the opposite direction, the effects of the research setting on me, equally significant. Through living and working in a Japanese school for two years, my own ways of seeing and thinking, acting and speaking changed, and this undoubtedly had an effect on the collection, analysis and interpretation of data. The second point relates to objectivity. I can be reflexive only to the extent that I can objectify myself as "a research instrument". Reflexivity is the identification and objectification of subjectivity. I can be partially reflexive in my construction of students'/ Monbusho's constructions of the junior high school student's notions of self in the world. I can see that my selection of data, analysis, interpretations and writing are influenced by the fact that I am a Westerner, by the fact that I am in Japan for the purpose of internationalisation and so on. Yet that is only the outward layer of reflexivity. Beneath that layer, there are many other layers of experiences, attitudes and thoughts that have influenced the doing and writing of this PhD. I cannot objectify or be reflexive about all these ways of feeling, thinking, seeing and acting, yet they directly affect the fieldwork and the writing of the thesis. I did keep

diaries in an attempt to be reflexive about the fieldwork. Unfortunately, my life was not neatly compartmentalised into 'fieldwork' and 'other', and so many of the things which changed my way of thinking about the topic of research were not directly connected to the research, and so went unrecorded. Furthermore, as von Glasersfeld (1995: 2) points out:

> ...we cannot reconstruct the past exactly as it was, because we cannot avoid framing and understanding our recollections in terms of the concepts we have at present.

Reflexivity in terms of objectifying the self as a research instrument, then, is only useful at a surface level. Research instruments do not usually change their values and ways of being in the course of the research, neither are they changed by the research setting. Research instruments are constant over time: I was not. I tried to be reflexive, but it was much more difficult than it first appeared and, as I was more interested in analysis of the data than self-analysis, I think I failed at anything more than surface level.

6.5 Data-recording, analysis and writing

This section will cover the following questions:

- What data were recorded and in what forms?
- How and when were data analysed?
- What was the relation of data collection, analysis and theory?
- What issues arose in the writing of the thesis?

The sections of recording, analysis and writing will be treated separately, but they actually overlapped to a great extent.

Data were recorded in a number of forms, corresponding to the methods of collection. Observation notes were made throughout the two years. Informal interviews, as stated in the last section, usually took the form of conversations, and were rarely tape-recorded, but quotes and notes from the interviews were made in observation notebooks. Tape-recordings of classes were supplemented by notes made during the classes. Questionnaires and documents were filed. Just as important as what and how data were recorded is the issue of what was not recorded. Naturally, only a tiny fraction of the data which could have been recorded actually was recorded. The selectivity of certain data, and the subsequent ignoring of all the rest, is governed by a multitude of factors. Hammersley's (1984: 53) comment reflects my own opinion:

> I may well have not recognized things which were actually very relevant or very useful indicators, and my conception of what was relevant may have changed over the course of the fieldwork.

Linguistic and cultural limitations, lack of access, and simply not being in the right place at the right time all meant that I probably missed a lot of data which could have shaped the study in different ways. This is one form of unrecorded data. Another form of unrecorded data is the implicit data which is never made explicit by being recorded. In part, this is due to the "partial acculturation" of the researcher described by Taft (1988: 59; see section 6.3 for full quote). Events and words begin to seem natural, habitual and not significant enough to record. I certainly fell prey to this tendency, as is evident in the fact that my most useful and most detailed observation notes are those made when I first arrived in Japan, and those made on returning to school after a break of three months maternity leave. Although the recorded data in the other months were less useful, I was still very much immersed in school life at those times, and was constantly improving my understanding of aspects of the school, relations with and empathy for teachers and students, and my implicit, 'common knowledge' of what was going on around me. This implicit knowledge was essential as a means of analysing and interpreting the recorded data. As Okely (1994: 32) remarks:

> Insights emerge also from the subconscious and from bodily memories, never penned on paper.

Implicit knowledge and recorded data formed the basis and means for data analysis and interpretation. The basic principle underpinning the process of analysis and interpretation was grounded theory, as formulated by Glaser & Strauss (1967: 6):

> Generating a theory from data means that most hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research.

Despite the advantage of arriving in Japan and Japanese schools relatively unburdened by hypotheses and preconceived ideas of Japanese education, I cannot claim to have used pure grounded theory. Although I did embryonically analyse data as I collected it, and although this analysis did feed back into the data collection process, I cannot say honestly that I generated and systematically worked out a theory in relation to the data during the course of the research. In the school, I periodically reviewed and wrote summaries of my observation notes and other data, and used these to develop questions and identify points which needed further clarification. I could then go back to teachers, students and documents in a search for explanation. However, my attempts to pursue a route of pure grounded theory were sabotaged by my tendency towards what Hammersley (1984: 56) calls "dredging" - the tendency to collect all data available on a

particular theme while in the field, rather than shaping data collection through theoretical sampling. The result was that the bulk of analysis and theory formulation, although it was generated directly from data, took place after leaving the school and returning to the UK.

After leaving Japan, I used progressive focusing in the sense described by Hammersley & Atkinson (1983: 175):

> Progressive focusing may also involve a gradual shift from a concern with describing social events and processes to developing and testing explanation.

In Japan, during the fieldwork, I had been primarily concerned with understanding and describing events, situations and people. Physical detachment from the fieldwork site and a space to reflect allowed me to begin to try to explain and interpret those descriptions. The first step to coherence was reimmersion in the data and the generation of inductive categories. Important in this process were principles of ethnosemantics, and Agar's (1991) idea of 'rich points' helped to structure the generation of emic categories. The entire process of analysis was characterised by backtracking and the tracing of concepts up and down hierarchies. Categories emerging from the data were linked together to form groups. The relationships between these groups of categories suggested theories, which were tentatively developed. A process of backtracking followed, where the provisional theories were followed back down through the hierarchy of categories to be tested in the data. In this process, some theories were abandoned, while others were modified and retested. The links which emerged between various categories and theories led to several different approaches to the data in the course of the analysis. One of the early approaches was to differentiate between the various people involved in the research, and to give a student perspective, a teacher perspective and a national (Monbusho) perspective on themes of self and national and international identity. This perspective later gave way to a focus on interpretations of self in the various environments inhabited by the student - class and school, local community, nation and world. Later still, both these earlier approaches were subsumed into the present format of the various concepts of self.

During the process of analysis, issues of reliability and validity came to the fore. Reliability is the requirement for consistency of data independent of the researcher and the time of collection. Essentially, reliability is what Walford (1991: 2) describes as "the abstraction of the researcher from the process of research". The very nature of qualitative research makes such abstraction virtually impossible, and reliability is

generally eschewed in favour of reflexivity. Validity is an important issue, described by McCormick & James (1988: 188) as follows:

> ...researchers are expected to demonstrate that the observations they actually record and analyse, match what they purport to be recording and analysing.

To maximise the validity of the process of analysis, I used triangulation and validation. Triangulation, the comparison of different data relating to a common point, took various forms. Triangulation of methods involved comparison of the same event or episode from data collected through observation, interviews, questionnaires and documents. Triangulation of sources looked at the same event or episode from the perspective of different people - students, different teachers, school policy, national policy and so on. Information from sources outside school (e.g. media) added further perspectives to this form of triangulation. Triangulation of sites was also used. Although most of the data were collected at 一中, data from other schools were used to validate or refute these data. Finally, data collected at various points of the school year were triangulated, as each school term has its own characteristics, and these affect school life to a considerable extent. Another form of triangulation was respondent validation. Hammersley & Atkinson (1983: 196) argue for the vital role of respondent validation in the research process:

> The value of respondent validation lies in the fact that participants involved in the events documented in the data may have access to additional knowledge of the context - of other relevant events, of thoughts they had or decisions they made at the time, for example - that is not available to the ethnographer. They may also be part of information networks that are more powerful than those accessible to the ethnographer. In addition, they have access to their own experience of events, which may be of considerable importance. Such additional evidence may materially alter the plausibility of different possible interpretations of the data.

An incident which occurred at 一中 illustrates the practical application and importance of respondent validation and triangulation in the data collection and analysis process. The incident began with what Agar (1986: 24) labels an "occasioned breakdown". A teacher suddenly dragged a student forcibly through the staffroom by the collar, shouting at him and knocking things over. I was shocked, partly by the violence, but even more by the fact that it was this particular teacher, and such behaviour seemed uncharacteristic (O1: 73). Left at this stage, the incident would have been put down to an example of violence in the school. Applying the principles of respondent validation, however, I asked several of the teachers who had witnessed the incident about it. It emerged that the boy had admitted to shoplifting, and the teacher (who was his

homeroom teacher) felt betrayed. Triangulation of related documents, observation of staff meetings and conversations with other teachers verified the details and interpretation of the incident, and resolution was achieved. As Agar (1986: 31) notes, however, real fieldwork is not so easy or linear, and this incident led to various derivative breakdowns, leading to further cycles of data collection, triangulation and validation of issues such as the teacher-student relationship and the responsibility of the school for students' out-of-school behaviour and actions. Although this incident led to more questions than answers, it is illustrative of the importance of triangulation and respondent validation in preventing researcher-imposed, simplistic interpretations of particular incidents and situations.

So far, data collection and analysis have been treated separately, but some account of the relation between them, theory and the existing literature is essential. As described earlier, I began the fieldwork largely ignorant of the existing literature related to the research. The main disadvantage of this situation was the obvious "waste of time" factor. On several occasions, I spent a long time and much effort puzzling things out and eventually coming to an explanation for why certain things were the way they were, only to find a very similar, concise interpretation or explanation in an article or book.

In spite of this tendency, especially in the early stages, to 'reinvent the wheel', the simultaneity of data collection and analysis and familiarity with the literature and existing theory was, in general, profitable. The main advantage of this position was that it was easier to develop theory from data. By the time I began reading the existing literature intensively, I was already immersed in the data. These circumstances meant that, from the beginning, I was reading theories in relation to real data rather than reading data in relation to the theories. Finding an interesting theory in the literature which seemed relevant to the research situation, I could immediately try it out to see whether and how it fitted in to the reality of the data. This was the case with some of the theories of national and international identity, and theories of primary and secondary control. More often, however, the data categories and links between them would build up into an inductive theory. I would then search the existing literature to try to validate or compare this theory with existing theories. This was the case with the concept of three aspects of self (see chapter 8). These three aspects were developed independently through data analysis and interpretation. Subsequent reading revealed that they corresponded closely to Lebra's (1992: 105) three dimensions of self, and so Lebra's terms of "interactional", "inner" and "boundless" are used in discussion. Other theories developed from the data, such as the theory that Japanese students extend concepts of self in the immediate environment to concepts of self in the world, do not appear in the

literature, and are presented as original theories. In all cases, however, the following two statements guided the relationship of data collection and analysis, theory generation and the existing literature. The first is by Patton (1987: 158) :

> *The cardinal principle of qualitative analysis is that causal and theoretical statements be clearly emergent from and grounded in field observations. The theory emerges from the data; it is not imposed on the data.* (emphasis in original)

The second is from Glaser & Strauss (1967: 6):

> ...the *source* of certain ideas, or even "models" can come from sources other than the data. (emphasis in original)

Several issues also arose relating to the writing of the data chapters of the thesis. Clifford (1986: 2) asserts the centrality of the process of writing texts in qualitative research:

> No longer a marginal, or occulted, dimension, writing has emerged as central to what anthropologists do both in the field and thereafter. The fact that it has not until recently been portrayed or seriously discussed reflects the persistence of an ideology claiming transparency of representation and immediacy of experience. Writing reduced to method: keeping good field notes, making accurate maps, "writing up" results.

The actual process of writing, throughout the research, led me to the realisation that writing extends far beyond method and the transmission of a transparent representation and immediate experience. Among the many issues which arose in the research I undertook, I would like to present three which remain unresolved. The first relates to representation and is the issue of the choice of content. Obviously, only a small fraction of the material actually collected and analysed could be included in the writing. Ultimately, material which related to the focus on concepts of self in the immediate and wider world was included in preference to other material. While this narrowing of focus is deliberate and inevitable, it does lead to over- and under-representation. To illustrate, for most students, high school entrance exams and the character of their homeroom teacher (both examples of topics which are virtually ignored in the writing of the data chapters) are of far greater concern than contribution to world society or self-awareness as a Japanese person. The process and product of writing, in this sense, give a distorted image of the reality of students' everyday lives and concerns. This point is made by Wolcott (1990: 57):

> In whatever transformation researchers make of their data, what has been observed of everyday life is recast into an account that sacrifices *most* of that data in order to feature *some* data with untoward attention.

The second issue, which relates directly to the point made above about transparency of representation and immediacy of experience, concerns levels of abstraction. The balance of description, analysis and explication of theory in writing the data chapters was difficult to maintain. During the fieldwork, I did not have any sense of authority over the people involved in the research, and I did not want to impose such authority through the writing. For this reason, I wanted to give voice to the many people involved, and interfere as little as possible with their descriptions and interpretations of the world. At the same time, I wanted to make sense of all the data and various descriptions, and this led me to devote a significant proportion of the writing to theory-development and interpretations. In doing this, there was always a nagging concern that, by abstracting too far along the hierarchies of categories, I would lose sight of the reality of individual students' thoughts and ideas.

The third issue which remains problematic is that of generalisation. The data consist of fragments of the voices of over a thousand individual people. In the writing, the individual is subjugated to his/her role as student or teacher. Individuality still shines through, and I have made a conscious effort to represent a range of views and interpretations wherever possible, but the tendency to use terms such as "many students" or "the teachers" denies the individual self that was at the heart of the study. The danger is that this may lead to the impression that the individual student or teacher is insignificant. This is not true. Every one of the students and teachers who appears in the data chapters is included as an individual, not merely as a role. In the process of writing, however, I could not help but generalise and categorise the thousand plus individuals who contributed to the study.

A slightly different, but connected, issue arises in the presentation of concepts as "Monbusho views" or "school aims". The Monbusho guidelines, although presented as a unified whole, were actually written by various committees, made up of many individuals with different backgrounds and opinions. Between the various subject guidelines, it is actually possible to see differences of interpretation and opinion on issues of national identity and internationalisation, and these contradictions to the general policy are highlighted in the data chapters where relevant, even though they are usually minor. However, the guidelines were published by Monbusho as a unified body, and are accepted as such. The same applies to documents and so on published by the school which purport to represent the school. Although such documents are actually written by individual teachers, they are intentionally presented as the policy, views etc. of the school, and are thus generalised as such in the text.

These three issues - choice of content, abstraction and generalisation - were only several of many which had to be dealt with in the process of writing. I have chosen to focus on them here because they are the three issues which remain problematic in my mind and in my writing. They are highlighted in order to draw the reader's attention to them as unresolved areas in the writing process.

6.6 Ethical issues

Of the various ethical issues which arise during the process of research, the following were particularly significant or problematic in this study:

- informed consent
- confidentiality and trust
- reciprocity

Informed consent is defined by Berg (1995: 212) in this way:

> *Informed consent* means the knowing consent of individuals to participate as an exercise of their choice, free from any element of fraud, deceit, duress, or similar unfair inducement or manipulation.

According to this definition, informed consent was unproblematic in the study. I gained permission from all relevant authorities to do the research, the principal of 一中 told all the teachers at a staff meeting formally that I was doing research in the school, and I freely spoke to teachers about what I was doing. Likewise, when I observed classes, students were informed that I was doing research and was interested in finding out more about what they did in subjects other than English. I certainly did not manipulate anyone, put anyone under duress or deliberately deceive anybody. The term "deliberately" is added because, in its most thorough sense, I do not think I ensured (or could ensure) informed consent. Burgess' (1989: 65) statement mirrors my own opinion accurately:

> Certainly, in my study teachers had been informed that research was taking place but it was not possible to specify exactly what data would be collected or how it would be used. In this respect, it could be argued that individuals were not fully informed, consent had not been obtained and privacy was violated.

This was what happened in my research. My explanations of the research were usually limited to the rather vague statement that I was studying internationalisation in Japanese junior high schools, but I did not know exactly what data would be relevant to this

theme or how I would use the data. The explanation I gave was not untrue, and I did not withhold any information deliberately, but the consent I had from teachers and students was not fully informed. A further two dimensions of this issue are introduced by Bridges (1989: 78):

> First, that the version of the truth which we communicate is partly communicated for us by a situation or setting which may speak in terms other than those which we might choose - and we cannot always control this. Secondly, that the truth which we are able to tell is partly constrained by what our audience is able to hear or to understand.

In my case, the fact that I was a teacher in the school overshadowed and obviously affected the fact that I was doing research. One aspect of informed consent which remained problematic was this convergence of roles in a single setting. When I asked students to fill in questionnaires, for example, I tried to explain that the questionnaires were for my research and, although I would be grateful if students would complete them, they did not have to. However, the setting of the classroom, with me there as their teacher, was probably more influential than my words. In such cases, students are not really in a position to withhold their consent, and the official gaining of consent seems to be little more than a token gesture.

The ethical issues of confidentiality and trust were equally significant in the study. Fetterman (1989: 132) asserts the importance of trust simply:

> Ethnographers need the trust of the people they work with to complete their task.

Trust is the basis of human relationships with people involved in the research, and those relationships are essential to the development and completion of the study. Trust leads to its own ethical minefield, however. It is unlikely that people were always aware of my role as a researcher when speaking to me, and some things they said were undoubtedly intended to be heard as private opinions rather than to be made public knowledge. At the same time, it would have imposed a strain on the relationship for me to start asking, "Excuse me, but did you say what you just said as a friend, or can I use it for my study?". As far as possible, then, I used my own judgement, and did not record any comments which were obviously intended as private information. The basic principle of not causing any harm to or betraying the trust of the people I was involved with guided this judgement.

In addition, I considered it my responsibility to assure confidentiality. This issue was never raised by anyone in the school, but I thought it necessary, particularly in the light of my doubts over informed consent. Three types of confidentiality were assured in the

writing of the thesis. The first is the confidentiality of people. The two most common ways of assuring this in qualitative research are through anonymity and the use of pseudonyms. In the final written account, anonymity is assured through the replacement of names by initials or by roles (e.g. a student). Delamont (1984: 31) advocates the use of pseudonyms throughout the research process, but I did not do this. Firstly, to give pseudonyms to 60+ teachers and 1600 students at the beginning of the research, when I was still struggling to learn their real names, was just not feasible. Secondly, documents collected in school are replete with real names, and it seemed futile to give pseudonyms in part of the data with no move to hide real names in another part. In all my observation notes, as a result, there is no attempt to change names or hide identities. Questionnaires could have been completed anonymously, and I did try to make them anonymous at first. Ingrained habits die hard, though, and students seemed uncomfortable with the idea of anonymity and wrote their names even when told not to. I later realised that anonymity was rare in the school, and one questionnaire which asked students to name bullies and classmates who broke school rules etc. led to criticism by teachers precisely because it was anonymous. For this reason, subsequent questionnaires are also named. Confidentiality of people in the data was impractical, then, but confidentiality in the thesis has been strictly observed.

The second type of confidentiality is the confidentiality of location, and exactly the same principles apply. It was impossible to assure confidentiality in the data, as documents have no reason to hide the identity and location of the school. In the final written account, however, all references to the names and locations of the schools are erased to protect their confidentiality. The third type of confidentiality is the confidentiality of information. I never quote from documents which were marked "confidential", although I might use information gained from them to triangulate or inform discussion of related issues. Likewise, I never quote things which people told me in confidence, although these things may alter my perspective on related themes. I hope that, through assuring these three types of confidentiality in the thesis, I have managed not to breach the relationship of trust with teachers or students.

Another ethical issue which concerned me was the issue of reciprocity. Fetterman (1989: 134) raises the issue in the following way:

> Ethnographers use a great deal of people's time, and they owe something in return.

I did not feel parasitical in the school as my primary function there was to teach English. In that sense, I was giving as well as taking. Similarly, my family and I were involved in town and community life, fulfilling our roles as agents of internationalisation. When

the two roles of teacher and researcher are separated, however, doubts about how reciprocal the relationship was begin to emerge. I took a huge amount of data, and I gave back very little information. In fact, it is only since returning to Japan after a year in the UK that I have started to reciprocate more directly, through dissemination of research, after being invited to give talks on internationalisation to groups of teachers and parents at various schools in the area. In terms of reciprocity of research, I am still in debt to teachers and students at 一中 and the other schools.

6.7 Summary

This chapter has been selective in that it focuses only on the techniques and issues of the research process which were pertinent to my own study. As will be clear by this stage, the process of actually doing fieldwork was far from perfect. I tried hard to make the study methodologically sound, but there are several points of the research which cast doubt on the degree of success of this attempt. I have highlighted these points in this chapter in order to make them explicit, so that they can be taken into account in the reading of the following data chapters. Being reflexive about these potential flaws does not actually make them disappear, but as Walford (1991: 2) points out, in a discussion of literature on the methodology of educational research:

> The social dimension of research is omitted and the process is presented as a cold analytic practice where any novice researcher can follow set recipes and obtain predetermined results.

As a novice researcher, I became intensely aware that the social dimension was generally far more powerful than the set recipes of the methodology books, and I acknowledge that this study has flaws and limitations. Nevertheless, I hope that the analysis and text resulting from my two years fieldwork in Japan will be considered valid enough to have some significance as a contribution to knowledge in the field of the development of identities in Japanese education.

Chapter 7

The ideal self

7.1 Creating human beings

In Chapter 3, Japanese views of self and identity in the world were examined. One theme which was drawn out was the theme of this-worldness, which appears in Shinto, Buddhist and Confucian thought. Existence is centred on this world and on this human life. It follows that the ideal self is centred on 人間(*ningen*). Dictionary definitions of the term 人間 (*ningen*) include a human being, humankind, character or nature. As there is no English equivalent which covers the whole range of meaning, the Japanese term will be used.

Ningen does not just exist. It has to be constructed and developed, and the junior high school plays a vital role in this process. Monbusho stresses that one of the key roles of educators is to develop this *ningen* in junior high school students. For example, 文部省 (*Monbusho*, 1989a:29) states that:

> 初等中等教育は、生涯にわたる人間形成の基礎を培う場であり...
> (Elementary and middle education are the place where the foundations of development as a human, which will last a lifetime, are cultivated...)

The school's role in developing *ningen* is more explicitly detailed later in the same document (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989a:104):

> 生徒の望ましい人間形成を図っていく上で、家庭や地球社会は重要な役割を果たすものであり、学校は積極的に家庭や地球社会に働きかけ、相互の連携を深めることにより、それぞれの教育機能を十分に発揮していくことが大切である
> (The home and the community have an important role in the desirable development of students as humans. Therefore, it is important that the school actively works on the home and community, and deepens mutual co-operation with them, so that each party can demonstrate its educational function to the full.)

Here, the school seems to be the key environment for the development of students as *ningen*, and it is the school's responsibility to 'work on' parents and community, advising them on how to guide their children. This is a point which will be taken up again in section 10.1. For the time being, it is sufficient to say that the development of students as *ningen* is an explicit concern of Monbusho, and is considered to be a function of junior high school education.

Discussion of the macro-theme of 人間形成 (*ningen keisei*: lit. the formation of *ningen*) is largely restricted to discussion of principles in Monbusho documents. The next step down in the ladder towards the immediacy of school and student life are the subject curriculum documents and the textbooks. These are relatively unblemished reflections of Monbusho policy. The subject curriculum documents, written by Monbusho, outline

in fine detail the principles and practice of teaching each subject. The textbooks have to be approved by Monbusho before they can be used in schools. At this level, then, the focus turns away from the principle of *ningen keisei* as an abstract principle and on to *ningen* as an object of study. The first step is awareness of the self as a *ningen*. This is illustrated in the Monbusho curriculum guidelines (中学校学習指導要領), where the section on teaching moral education advises the following (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989b: 132):

> 道徳の時間における指導にあたっては、すべての内容項目が人間としての生き方についての自覚とかかわるように留意する。
> (In teaching moral education classes, it should be kept in mind that every item of the content should relate to self-awareness of one's way of living as a human being.)

Once students are aware of their own existence as human beings, they should be encouraged to reflect on what it means to be a human being leading a human life. In the same document, Monbusho gives a list of requirements for resources used in teaching Japanese. One item on the list (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989b: 21) is:

> 人生について考えを深め、豊かな人間性を養い、たくましく生きる意志を育てるのに役立つこと
> (Things which will deepen thought about human life, cultivate a rich human nature and foster the will to live vigorously.)

The following example illustrates how this guideline is carried through from Monbusho policy to the students. In the second year Japanese textbook, the aim of the final chapter is this (光村図書, *Mitsumura Tosho*, 1996a: 255):

> 自分の考えを深め、人間の生き方について考える。
> (To deepen one's own thoughts and to think about how to live as a human.)

The chapter consists of a poem and two pieces of prose. The tasks at the end of the chapter, which also serves as a summary of the year's work, include (光村図書, *Mitsumura Tosho*, 1996a: 287) in the section for reading, the option to read:

> 作家の「人間」を感じさせる詩や、「人間」の生き方をうたった詩。
> (Poems in which the writer makes his/her *ningen* felt, or poems which describe the way to live as a *ningen*.)

Likewise, the section on writing (ibid) includes the following option:

> 人間や人生を見つめて、詩にうたったり、体験記や物語に描く。
> (To study *ningen* and human life, and to portray them in poetry, description of experience or story form.)

In this manner, the route from Monbusho policy to student work is direct and explicit. *Ningen keisei* means making students aware of their own status as human beings, and making *ningen* the object of study in various subjects, most notably Japanese and moral education.

Once junior high school students are aware of *ningen* and what it means to be human, they can begin to develop as *ningen.* This is the next step of *ningen keisei.* This development as *ningen* is done consciously at all levels, from Monbusho to students. At the Monbusho level, the policy is explicit (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989a: 23):

> 人生にかかわる諸問題について関心が高まる中学生の時期に、自ら人間らしい生き方を求め、人間としてよりよく生きようとする意欲や態度を育てることは極めて大切なことである。
> (In the period of being a junior high school student, when interest in issues relating to life heightens, it is of utmost importance to foster the motivation to independently pursue a human way of living and the attitude of trying to live as a better human being.)

At the student level, the principle of developing as a better human being is not as clearly stated, but is still apparent. For example, one student writes:

> ここまで部活動というのは人間を本気にさせるんだなと思いました。
> (I think that doing club activities till now has made me stronger as a *ningen*) (W3: 10)

And another student, also reflecting on club activities, writes:

> 私は、まだ穴がたくさんあいたバケツだけど、これから1つ1つバケツの穴をうめていって、もっと強い人間になりたいと思う。
> (I am still a bucket with many holes, but from now on I will fill up the holes one by one, and I would like to become a stronger *ningen.*) (W3: 29)

Monbusho, students, textbooks and teachers share the preoccupation with *ningen.* Of course, everybody is human. But there is a difference between <u>being</u> human and <u>becoming</u> more human. Everybody has the potential to become more human, and so, in theory, the ideal is attainable by everyone. The concept of humanness is also directly relevant to identities in the world (see section 2.3). In the rest of this chapter, I will examine what it means to become more human, or what the criteria of ideal self against which *ningen* is measured are.

7.2 The balanced self

The concern for the development of the whole child, or *ningen*, is manifested at all levels of education. 文部省 (*Monbusho*, 1989a: 4) states that:

> 学校教育は、人間としての調和のとれた発達を目指し、心身ともに健全な国民の育成を期して行われなければならないことは言うまでもない。
> (It goes without saying that school education should aim for the harmonious development of the person, and should ensure the upbringing of citizens who have healthy bodies, minds and hearts.)

For Monbusho, development of a balanced self is such a basic principle that it goes without saying. At school level, too, this principle is foundational. At 一中, the primary aim of the school, upon which all the other aims and policies were built, was:

> 知・徳・体の調和と統一のある人間性豊かな生徒の育成。
> (The raising of richly human students who have harmony and unity of mind, morals and body) (F2:1,4)

This aim is reinforced through school activities across and outside the curriculum. Study is one aspect of school, but there is much more to Japanese junior high school life, as this year head teacher emphasises in a newsletter to students and their parents:

> 部活動や係活動、学校行事などにも真剣に取り組まなければなりません 体力・気力・忍耐力・団結力・相手を思いやる心。。。このような特別活動から得られるものははかり知れません。このような活動を通して、人間的にも大きく成長するはずです
> (It is necessary also to tackle club activities, committee activities and school events seriously. Physical strength, willpower, perseverance, co-operative strength, consideration for others... the things to be gained from such activities are immeasurable. Through activities such as these, students will grow greatly as humans. (F1:37)

At all levels of education, then, the necessity to facilitate development of all aspects of the student as a person is undisputed. The next question to ask is what exactly a 人間としての調和のとれた発達 (harmoniously developed *ningen*) is and how it is developed at junior high school. From the data, there seem to be six main aspects of self to be developed, namely, mental, physical, moral, emotional, social and character. In the rest of this section, each of these aspects will be taken and discussed in turn.

The mental self. Like schools anywhere in the world, one of the primary functions of junior high schools in Japan is to facilitate the mental development of students. Students spend five or six hours a day sitting in classes, complain about how much homework they have to do and panic the week before tests. On the surface, there are probably more similarities than striking differences between schools in Japan and the UK. Delving a little deeper, however, unearths a contrasting attitude to mental

development. Academic ability is de-emphasised in favour of attitude and application. A letter from a teacher to parents and students exemplifies this idea:

> 今までの卒業生の進路を見ても、勉強の得意・不得意にかかわらず、一生懸命努力した人は、ほとんど自分の希望する進路に進んでいます。
> (If you look at the destinations of the graduates of this school till now, you will see that those who have wholeheartedly worked hard are progressing on their own chosen course, regardless of whether they were good or bad at studying.) (F1:37)

This de-emphasis of natural academic ability in Japanese schools has been well documented elsewhere (see chapter 5). The implications for self are that the students usually attribute success and failure in school to causes other than 'natural' intelligence. This point will be taken up again later in this chapter and in chapter 8.

The physical self. The junior high school has a vital role in providing students with opportunities to develop their physical strength and skills. This aspect of development should not be restricted to the subject of 保健体育 (Health and P.E.), as 文部省 (*Monbusho*, 1989a: 37) clearly states:

> 体育に関する指導は、学校の教育活動全体を通じて適切に行われるべきものであり、その効果を上げるためには、保健体育担当の教師だけではなく、全教師の理解と協力が得られる...ことが大切である。
> (The teaching of physical education is something which should be carried out appropriately across all school activities. To be effective, it is important that the understanding and co-operation of all teachers, not only Health & P.E. teachers, should be gained.)

As one of the aspects of the developing human, physical development is the responsibility of all teachers, not just the subject specialists. Neither is P.E. confined to the domain of physical development. P.E. is considered to be closely linked to the development of other aspects of the student's *ningen*, in particular, the development of character. One of the aims of Health & P.E. as a subject is this:

> 各種の運動を適切に行うことによって、強健な身体を育てるとともに強い意志を養い、体力の向上を図る
> (In carrying out each type of sport appropriately, to work for the improvement of physical strength and to nurture a strong spirit as well as a healthy body.) (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989b:76)

The ideas expressed by Monbusho are realised in the junior high school. There is a preoccupation with the health of the students, demonstrated by a week of health checks at the beginning of each school year (F2:18). At 一中, the student health committee's activities included projects and surveys on bad teeth, AIDS and the incidence of colds and flu among students. In all of these activities, the aim was 一中生の健康な生活のしかたを考える (to think about how to live healthily as a student of 一中)(F1:1,5).

Other health checks include termly measurement of each student's height and weight. One such check, reported in a health newsletter, found that, on average, all students had grown taller since the previous term but all except the third year girls had lost weight. The school nurse concludes that:

> 4月からの激しい運動などが原因と考えられます。
> (The strict physical training since April can be thought of as the cause)(F5:2)

The physical training referred to here is not P.E. classes, but club activities. At 一中, every student belongs to a club, and 533 out of 597 belong to sports clubs. Daily training after school and in the holidays is an essential part of the experience as a junior high school student. For many students, this physical training is a substantial part of the development of self, both physically and otherwise. The following two quotes are echoed by many other students:

> 野球で心が強くなり、体も強くなりました。
> (Through baseball, my mind has become strong and my body has become strong.)(W3:7)

> 部活をやったことで精神力、体力もついたと思う
> (By doing club activities, I've become mentally and physically strong.)(W3:19)

Developing physically (in health and strength) is an integral part of becoming a balanced person. As such, an understanding of the place of sports and physical activities in the junior high school is essential for understanding of the development of the junior high school student as a human being.

The moral self. Another aspect of *ningen* which assumes paramount importance at junior high school is the self as a moral person. Like physical education, moral education should not be restricted to specific classes, but should extend across and beyond the curriculum. The Monbusho guidelines (文部省 1989a: 31) state that:

> 学校における道徳教育は、学校の教育活動全体を通じて行うものとし、道徳の時間はもとより、各科及び特別活動においても、それぞれの特質に応じて適切な指導をおこなければならない。
> (Moral education should extend across all school activities. Moral education classes are the foundation, but each subject and special activities should provide appropriate guidance according to their particular characteristics.)

A newsletter distributed to all schools and teachers reinforces this policy at prefectural level:

> 道徳教育全体計画の改善や道徳の時間を充実するための多様な指導法等の工夫に努めている学校が多いが、より一層学校教育全体を通した道徳教育の推進が望まれる。
> (There are many schools where efforts are being made to improve overall planning of moral education and to develop many methods of teaching to enrich moral education classes, but it is hoped that moral education across the whole school will be even more strongly promoted.) (F9:1)

Like physical education, moral education is not seen as a discrete entity. As part of the foundation of the human self, it is relevant to all curricular and extra-curricular activities. Moreover, the aim of moral education is not an objective, knowledge-based aim of teaching students about morals. On the contrary, the aims of moral education are to develop and change each student as a person. This is an aim explicitly stated by 文部省 (*Monbusho, 1989a:31*):

> 道徳教育を進めるに当たっては・・・生徒が人間としての生き方についての自覚を深め、豊かな体験を通して内面に根ざした道徳性の育成が図られるよう配慮しなければならない。
> (To advance moral education, attention must be paid to planning the deepening of students' self-awareness of the way of living as a *ningen*, and the fostering through rich experiences of a deep-rooted inner morality.)

The 'rich experiences' referred to here include reading material in various subjects. For example, the Monbusho guidelines for Japanese recommend the selection of material which will cultivate morality (文部省, 1989d: 2). Similarly, the principal of 一中 recommends, for moral education:

> 心に響く感銘深い資料
> (materials which deeply affect and impress the heart) (F3:13,2)

For many teachers, the responsibility for the moral development of students is a difficult challenge. After teaching a moral education class which I observed, one teacher reflected (O7:20) that:

> Of course, a moral spirit is very important and very necessary, but I wonder if the school system can teach moral spirit. Moral spirit is by doing...

The ideals, then, are that moral education should be fostered across and beyond the curriculum, and that moral education should be closely linked to other aspects of the development of self as a *ningen*. A deeply-rooted inner moral spirit should be developed, but whether this is attainable or not within the context of the junior high school is a point of doubt for some teachers. Meta-discussion by students of their own moral development is rare, but evidence of how students think about particular aspects of the moral education aims and content is plentiful and will be discussed in the following chapters.

The emotional self. As well as mental, physical and moral development of the self, the school's remit includes the development of the emotional aspects of self. The Monbusho guidelines are liberally sprinkled with references to the cultivation of a 豊かな心 (*yutakana kokoro*, a rich heart) and 豊かな心情 (*yutakana shinjou*, rich feelings). For example, the aim for music (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989b: 71) reads:

> ・・音楽を愛好する心情と音楽に対する感性を育て、豊かな情操を養う。
> (To foster feelings of love for and sensitivity to music, and to cultivate rich sentiments.)

The aim for art is almost identical (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989b: 79). As for foreign languages, material used should be:

> 豊かな心情を育てるのに役立つこと。
> (Things which foster rich sentiments) (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989c: 90)

This concern with emotions is carried through into the textbooks. For example, most chapters in the second year Japanese textbook require students to discuss or write about the characters' feelings, or their own feelings after reading a particular piece of writing (光村図書, *Mitsumura Tosho*, 1996a).

Students attach similar importance to 豊か (*yutaka*), or 'richness', although whether this is directly due to Monbusho policies and the content of textbooks is difficult to ascertain. One student writes in an essay:

> The key of human life, I feel, is not material goods or wealth, but the richness and generosity in people's hearts. (F7:1,19)

Experiences which reach the emotional self are deliberately planned at junior high school, as well as at other stages of education. One example which is common to all junior high schools in Japan is the graduation ceremony. For Monbusho, the aim of the graduation ceremony and other similar ceremonies is this:

> 学校生活に有意義な変化や折り目を付け、厳粛で清新な気分を味わい、新しい生活の展開への動機付けとなるような活動を行うこと。
> (To carry out the kind of activities which bring purposeful change and order to school life, give a taste of renewed spirit through solemnity and give motivation for the development of a new life.) (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989b: 122)

At the school level, the emotional aims of the graduation ceremony are even more heavily emphasised, as this document from 一中 shows:

> 義務教育を終え、新しく出発することの意義を深め、厳粛のうちに深い感銘を与え、一生の思い出とさせる。
> (To deepen consciousness of finishing compulsory education and making a new departure, and to be deeply impressed in the solemnity which will be a lifelong memory.) (F3:14,3)

The ceremony itself is high in status as the most important ceremony of the year, and follows weeks of practice by the students. The importance attached to the ceremony and the engagement which results from constant repetition and practice of every part help to ensure that the aims of the ceremony are fulfilled. The following is my account of the graduation ceremony at 一中 (O3:61)

> On the day, all the third year women teachers came dressed in kimono and hakama. There was cleaning, and then the ceremony began from 9.30am. Most third year students' mothers and some fathers attended the ceremony, dressed in best clothes. All the men wore white ties, like for a wedding... The ceremony began with the entrance of the third years in classes, headed by their teacher and heralded by the brass band. After the opening speech, the national anthem and school song were sung. Then each student was called in turn to receive their certificate from the principal, bow to him, to the school and parents and to the teachers before returning to their seats. Next came the speeches... Then there was a 'sending off' speech by the new head of the Student Council, with a return speech by the previous head. By this point many of the third year students and some of the teachers were crying. The emotion continued with a goodbye song by the third years, a sending off song by the first and second years and, finally, 'Sayonara' [*Goodbye*] sung by the whole school. By this point, the parents were weeping too... All in all, it was very impressive and emotional - according to the teachers afterwards, a 'good' ceremony.

A ceremony which I summarised as 'impressive' and 'emotional' before even being aware that any official aims existed obviously fulfilled the functions ascribed to it by Monbusho and the school. This is just one instance of how the emotional aspects of the student's *ningen* are consciously and carefully developed.

Another aspect of the student's emotional development which is often discussed is the affection of students for the school and teachers. One of the aims of moral education is:

> ・・・教師や学校の人々に敬愛の念を深め・・・
> (to deepen a feeling of love and respect for teachers and people at school..) (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989b:119)

This emotional attachment of the students to the teachers is also recommended by the prefecture in a newsletter advising teachers to adopt the following attitude:

> 子供一人一人に温かい思いを寄せ、愛情ある共感的な子供理解に努める
> (To try to think of each individual child warmly, and to understand children sympathetically with love.) (F9:1,3)

The emotional bond developed between teacher and student can be very strong. An example, written by a student to describe how she felt when the time came for the third

years to stop doing club activities and concentrate on revision for exams, should illustrate this point:

> 最後に「ありがとうございました」と言ったとき、悲しみくやしさで涙があふれてきました。先生が2年生を教えているのを見ていて、私達のお母さんがとられたような気持ちでくやしかったです。
> (When we said "Thank you" for the last time, my eyes filled with tears of sadness and disappointment. When I saw the teacher teaching the second years, it was mortifying, and I felt as though our mother had been taken away from us.) (W3:31)

So at junior high school, there is a conscious concern with developing 'a rich heart', events planned to be emotional occasions and a carefully nurtured relationship of closeness between members of the school. All these elements facilitate development of emotional aspects of the student's sense of self.

The social self. One of the school's major roles is considered to be helping students to develop social aspects of self. Particularly important are the development of self as a member of various groups, and human relations. As these topics will be the subject of chapters 10 and 11 respectively, they will not be discussed here.

Whether it is relating to others as a member of a group or otherwise, students are encouraged and expected to be considerate of others in all their interactions. Surface courtesy is expected to arise from genuine feeling. The 'Five Hearts' tenet of the Student Guidance Committee at 一中 demonstrates the emotional and social spheres of school life:

> 1 おはようと言う・人を大切にする心 (the heart which makes other people important by saying,"Good morning")
> 2 はいと言う・素直な心 (the co-operative heart which says,"Yes")
> 3 すみませんと言う・反省の心 (the self-reflective heart which says,"I'm sorry")
> 4 私がしますと言う・奉仕の心 (the serving heart which says,"I'll do it")
> 5 ありがとうと言う・感謝の心 (the appreciative heart which says,"Thank you") (F2:1,5)

These 'five hearts' formed the basis of the ideal student at 一中, and were repeated constantly throughout the year in weekly aims, self-evaluations and so on. They constitute the basic guidelines of how to relate to others. To what extent the school ideals of self correlate with student ideas and the reality of school life will be the subject of the following chapters.

'Seishin'. The final aspect of self which is developed at junior high school is the *seishin*. 精神 (*seishin*) can mean mind, spirit or will. It overlaps with aspects of self already discussed, particularly the emotional and moral self, but is not fully contained within any other category. The development of *seishin* is frequently mentioned by students, often in conjunction with physical training. This comment by one student discussing what she has gained from club activities is typical:

> 私は精神的にだいぶ成長したと思う・・・
> (I think I have grown a lot in terms of *seishin*) (W3:29)

Again, *seishin* is a theme which will be returned to in the following chapters, particularly in chapter 8.

The balanced *ningen*, the whole child, is comprised of many aspects of self. Each of these aspects can only exist as part of the whole. The picture outlined above portrays the ideal rather than the reality. In spite of the ideals, several teachers expressed the opinion that students were not able to develop in a balanced way. This applies especially to the third year students preparing for high school entrance exams, as one teacher explained:

> O-sensei says perhaps they do 2-3+ hours a day homework, and most go to *juku* too. Some *juku* in the town are open till 11 or 12 at night. She says that study is important, but this much is at the detriment of their *ningen*. (O7: 32)

Another teacher expresses similar views:

> She thinks Japanese students have to study at the expense of other development, and they don't have time to do anything after club activities, *juku* and homework. (O7:33)

Although there may be some disparity between the ideal and reality, it is noticeable that the same ideal of the junior high school student growing as a balanced *ningen* is shared by Monbusho, school and individual teachers. In this respect, the foundations of self in the Japanese junior high school are commonly laid.

7.3 The right way

Integral to being human is living life, and the way of living life as a human is an area of focus at junior high school in Japan. The idea of there being a 'right way' to do things was explained in Chapter 3. The Buddhist tenet of the 'Eightfold Path' (right speech, right action, right occupation etc.), combined with Confucian *li* or rites, comes to life in

the Japanese junior high school. The overarching theme is 生き方 (*ikikata*), which means the way to live or way of living. *Ikikata* is a concept which reappears again and again in documents related to education. In Monbusho documents, the following phrase is commonly used:

> 人間としての生き方についての自覚を深め・・・
> (to deepen self-awareness of the way of living as a *ningen*) (e.g. 文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989b:133)

In the textbooks, *ikikata* is a subject of study. For example, in the final tasks of the year in both the second and third year Japanese textbooks, students are asked to discuss, read and write about *ikikata* (光村図書, *Mitsumura Tosho*, 1996a,b). The third year textbook also contains a selection of quotations from Confucius, followed by the comment that:

> 「論語」は、短い言葉の中に、人間の生き方についての鋭い観察や深い思索が表れていて、現代のわたしたちも、ものの見方・考え方を教えてくれるものが多い。
> (In the short sayings of the "Analects of Confucius", pointed observations and deep meditations on the human *ikikata* are expressed, and they can teach us today much about the ways of seeing things and thinking.) (光村図書, *Mitsumura Tosho*, 1996b: 214)

Ikikata is a very general, overall term, made up of many component parts. Several aspects of junior high school life encourage students' awareness of the way to live. Significant are the following four:

- explicit instruction in the right way to do things.
- structures built into the organisation of junior high school.
- development by students of a regulated lifestyle.
- the use of aims.

Explicit instruction. The junior high school is characterised by a considerable amount of explicit teaching in the right way to do things. 'The right way to study' is a favourite theme. At the beginning of junior high school, a lot of time is spent in direct instruction in how to study each subject. For example, a class of first year students spent a whole lesson practising how to follow a sheet of guidelines produced by the teacher on the subject of how to study English (F10: 1). The title of the sheet was "英語の学習の仕方：授業を楽しく受けるためのルールを身に付けましょう。" ("How to study English: let's learn the rules for enjoying classes.") These 'rules' were divided into sections labelled 予習 (preparation), 授業 (lesson) and 復習 (revision), and detailed exactly what the students should do at each stage. In the class, students practised the whole procedure, making sure they wrote the right things the right number of times in the right place on the page. When they had finished, they took their work to the teacher

to be checked and stamped. By the end of the lesson students had learned, under close supervision, 'the right way' to learn English.

Students are also taught in detail the right way to behave and act in specific circumstances. A particularly striking example was the preparation for the graduation ceremony described in section 7.2:

> Before the ceremony, there were many practices. Students were trained in how to sit, how to put their hands, how to stand in unison without making too much noise, how to bow (angle, timing) etc.. The songs to be sung were practised repeatedly. The third years had to practise how to go up to the stage, how to receive their certificate (left hand first, right hand next, step back, lift certificate over head, bow), when, where and how to bow etc.. Every move was carefully planned. (O3:60)

A similar but abbreviated training in how to take part is given to first year students on their first day of school in preparation for their entrance ceremony (O7:3).

Other areas in which 'the right way' is explicitly taught to students is in how to prepare for exams, how to be a member of a group, how to behave in meetings with students of other schools and so on. The amount of explicit instruction by teachers is striking, but is not the only component of the emphasis on *ikikata* apparent in junior high schools.

Structures and organisation. Further guidance in *ikikata* is provided through the more implicit and deeply embedded structures, routines and rites of the school itself. The degree of structure and organisation in a Japanese junior high school is impressive, at all levels and in most spheres. Two examples should serve to illustrate the degree of structure in various spheres.

The first example is cross-level, and shows how inbuilt structures aid the implementation of Monbusho policy, or the nationally-prescribed 'right way' to teach and learn. Of course, Monbusho policy is directly transmitted to teachers and students through the approved textbooks, the curriculum guidelines, and teacher guidance manuals for each subject. This is reinforced by in-school teacher research. At 一中, a topic for research is selected each year by the 現職教育 (in-service training) committee. This topic, which is directly related to Monbusho aims, becomes the subject of planned, implemented and evaluated teacher-research in all subjects (F2:8). In this way, the structures within the school strengthen the transmission of national policy from Monbusho to individual teachers and students.

The second example is student committees. Every student belongs to the Student Council, which at 一中 is composed of a central committee and 13 branch committees, covering all aspects of school life from library to health to school lunch to broadcasting. In each class, students are divided into representatives of each of these committees (F1:1,2). The result is that every student in the school has a responsibility as a member of a school committee, and that every committee is equally represented throughout the school, with older students and the teacher in charge guiding younger students in the right way to fulfil committee responsibilities.

The two examples given cover different areas of school life. The common thread is that in all cases, guidance is given by senior authorities on 'the right way' to teach, learn or fulfil responsibilities in school. The structures themselves also have an important role in defining what 'the right way' is. For example, the phenomenon of universal participation and responsibility in committees and projects states by its very existence that participation and the assumption of shared responsibility is the 'right way' to be and behave in society.

Reinforcing the structures of school are the routines, rituals and rites of school life. On an everyday level, these include the rituals of morning and afternoon homeroom, the weekly assembly, the set greetings before and after class or lunch and so on. In each case, the student learns that there is a set way, a 'right way' of handling each situation. S/he must also master the right way to behave, speak and conduct him/herself in that situation. On a larger scale, the year is marked by a number of rites, such as the entrance and graduation ceremonies. 文部省 (*Monbusho*, 1989b: 134) states the aims of such school events:

> 学校行事においては、全校又は学年を単位として、学校生活に秩序と変化を与え、・・・
> (School events, at school or year-group level, should bestow order and change in school life..)

These rites, which are commonly shared by many Japanese junior high schools, form key points in school life and activities, and provide a national structure of the right things to do and the right way to do them at the junior high school stage.

A regulated lifestyle. As well as the structures and routines of school, students receive plenty of advice on regulating their own daily life and routine. A health newsletter from the school nurse furnishes an example of how this advice is given:

> 「だるい」「フラフラする」「頭がボーッとする」・・・学校生活のリズムになれないのではなく、家庭での過ごし方に問題があると思われます。もう一度自分の生活を見直し、生活をたてなおしてみませんか。
> ("I feel listless","I feel dizzy","My head's heavy"... it's probable that the cause is not that you're not used to the rhythm of school life, but that there's a problem with how you spend your time at home. Why don't you look once again at your own lifestyle and rebuild it?) (F5:2).

The newsletter continues with specific advice to get up and go to bed at the same time every day. Also at 一中, the Student Guidance committee reinforced this idea of the desirability of an ordered life with a monthly aim which reads:

> 中学生としての自覚にたち、規律ある生活ができるようにする。
> (To acquire self-awareness as a junior high school student and to become able to lead a regulated life.) (F2:18)

Being a junior high school student and leading a regulated life seem to go hand in hand, and this idea will be explored further in chapter 8. A corollary of this emphasis on a highly organised, regulated life is the notion that all time should be used to the full. On the macro-level, this can be seen by the experience of junior high school itself, which takes up almost all its students' time. On the micro-level, it is illustrated by a piece of advice on the 'morning study session', the first ten minutes of the school day when students complete pre-printed sheets of questions on designated subject content:

> 朝自習は毎朝8時から始まりますが、この10分間も無駄にしないで勉強していこうとする姿勢を育てたいと考えています。
> (Morning study begins at 8a.m. every morning, and we would like to cultivate in students an attitude of not even wasting these ten minutes, but studying enthusiastically.) (F5:5,3)

Within this framework of organisation and regulation, the concept of acquiring basic habits is an important one. The basic habits are things that all students can achieve, regardless of ability or personality, and they form the structure of daily life and behaviour. They can relate to study, as in the following example, which is extracted from a letter of advice from teachers to parents:

> 毎日一定時間勉強し、1時間でも勉強しないと気持ち悪くて寝られないというくらいの学習習慣を作り上げること（寝る前のはみがきのように自然な感じで勉強する)。
> (Students should create the habit of studying every day at a fixed time, to the extent that if they miss an hour of study they feel so bad they cannot sleep (so that studying comes to feel as natural as cleaning your teeth before going to bed) (F5:5,4)

Alternatively, basic habits can relate to behaviour and appearance, as in this note from the principal of 一中 to teachers, stating his new year aims for the school:

> 基本的な生活習慣を理解させ、実践的態度を育てる。＊あいさつ、会釈、言葉遣い、服装、頭髪、時間のけじめ
> (To cultivate an understanding of basic life habits and an attitude of putting these habits into practice. * Greetings, bow, use of language, clothes, hairstyle, *kejime*) (F3:13,1)

The creation of basic habits leads naturally to a regulated lifestyle. Basic habits involve attention to the minor details of how to behave, how to look, how to spend time and so on. The minor details are important, because each part represents the whole, and it is only by regulating each part that the whole, the *ikikata*, can be successfully achieved (see section 3.3 for relation of this idea to Buddhist philosophy).

The use of aims. Another way in which students are encouraged to adapt to 'the right way' to behave and be is through the use of aims (see section 5.3). Observation notes made early in the fieldwork reveal the omnipresence of aims:

> There are aims everywhere. Each class has its slogan and aim, each student has an aim for the term. I think that each class also has an aim for the day... (O1:34)

The final assumption was correct, and these daily class aims tend to be the most practical and the most repetitive. Popular examples include 授業中、無駄話しをしない (not to talk unnecessarily in lessons) or わすれものをしない (not to forget things). Students' individual aims tend to be more personal and based on perceived shortcomings. For example, recurring aims include 部活動を休まないように (not to miss club activities). Weekly school aims are based on student guidance policies, at 一中 revolving around the 'five hearts' tenet described in section 7.2. Class aims are devised by each class at the beginning of the school year and embody the kind of class students wanted to be. There are also school aims, club activity aims, committee aims, year group aims..... Such aims provide an ideal. They state explicitly what is expected of the students, and what 'the right way' to be a junior high school student is. In this respect, they are a powerful tool in the encouragement of 'the right way', through appeal to the morality of aspiration discussed in section 1.2.

Direct instruction, structures, regulated lifestyle and the use of aims all contribute to the fortification of the philosophy that there is 'a right way' to act, speak and be. This 'right way' is an ideal rather than a reality. However, even if the goal (the right way to be as a good *ningen*) is still distant, the route (the right way to approach that goal) is within reach of everybody. Everybody can gradually adjust their *ikikata* through learning how to do things, or acquiring basic habits (or can have it adjusted for them by the school's

structures and regulations). The right way to becoming a better *ningen* and to developing a better *ikikata* is clearly apparent at school through explicit and implicit means. How far individual students adapt their selves to the ideals and practice of 'the right way' will be discussed in chapter 8.

7.4 The right attitudes

In the previous section, 'the right way' was limited to behaviour and actions. The balanced *ningen* does not only act, however. S/he also exercises the emotional, social and other aspects of self, and these aspects emerge as attitude. 'The right way' also encompasses a right way to feel and to approach situations, and this will be the focus of this section. 'The right attitudes' are based upon two major Japanese traditions discussed in chapter 3. First is the belief in the human as essentially good (see section 3.2). If the self is essentially good, then it is expected that the self will want to do what is right, i.e. there is a shared expectation that the 'right attitudes' are aspired to by everyone. Second is the emphasis on the right way and self-cultivation (see section 3.3). As in the previous section, there is a common acceptance that a right way exists, in this case a set of 'right attitudes'. This concentration on right attitudes is not new at junior high school. It is a continuation of the emphasis on attitude from pre-school onwards described in chapter 5.

If this background of Japanese philosophical traditions and earlier stages of education is taken into account, it becomes easier to understand the following statement, which epitomises the pre-eminence of attitude at junior high school. This is a message from the vice-principal to students at the end of their first year:

> 態度が変われば人がかわる
> 人が変われば行動がかわる
> 行動が変われば習慣がかわる
> 習慣が変われば人格がかわる
> 人格が変われば運命もかわる
> (If the attitude changes, the person changes,
> If the person changes, the actions change,
> If the actions change, the habits change,
> If the habits change, the character changes,
> If the character changes, the destiny also changes.) (D18:1)

Attitudes, or ways of seeing and feeling, are considered the key to all other aspects of self. As such, the development of desirable attitudes is the focus of much explicit and implicit education in the junior high school. Roughly speaking, the 'right attitudes' can be divided into two groups, which I have labelled:

- effort-related attitudes
- motivation-related attitudes

Discussion of these two sets of attitudes will form the basis of the rest of this section.

Effort-related attitudes. Interestingly, effort-related attitudes are emphasised much more at the school and student levels than at the Monbusho level. As explained in sections 7.2 and 5.3, success is attributed to effort rather than ability, and this leads to the popular maxim, やれば出来る (if you try, you can do it). At 一中, teachers often used this maxim to encourage students, as in the following two instances. In the first case, a music teacher is praising a first-year class on their unexpected success in the school chorus concert:

> 合唱コンクールはすばらしかったですね。やれば出来ることを証明してくれました
> (The chorus contest was wonderful, wasn't it? You proved that if you try, you can do it.) (D9:39)

This maxim is equally applicable to the academic sphere. In end-of-term tests, some students' marks rose significantly. At a PTA meeting, teachers addressed the following remarks to parents:

> 本人の話しでは、「このままでは、苦手意識がついてしまうと思って、一生懸命勉強した」結果なのです やっぱり、やればできるようになるのです (emphasis in original)
> (According to the student concerned, the result was due to the fact that, "I realised that, as things were, I was becoming weak at the subject, so I studied as hard as I could". Once again, it's the case that **if you try, you become able to do it.**) (F5:3,3)

The teachers continue with further opinions on the correlation between attitude and results in tests. As a lucid illustration of teacher beliefs about the importance of attitude, it is worth quoting in full:

> 今回、一生懸命頑張っても、結果に結びつかなかった人もいます。そのような場合には、結果だけを責めずに、その努力を認めてあげて下さい 学習方法に問題がある場合もあるし、また、ほかの人もそれ以上にがんばったということも考えられます。・・・努力した分だけ学力はついているのです。
> (This time, there were people who tried as hard as they could, but whose results did not reflect this. In such a case, do not just scold them about the results, but please recognise the efforts they have made. Perhaps there are problems with their methods of study, or perhaps other people tried even harder....academic ability comes from effort.) (F5:3,3)

It is interesting that academic failure is attributed solely to shortfalls in the right way (how to study) or the right attitudes (not enough effort). The implication is that, if the right way and the right attitudes can be mastered, anyone can be successful academically.

Merely trying to do something does not guarantee instant success, however. Students must also 頑張る (*gambaru*) (see section 5.3). *Gambaru* means 'to persevere', 'to do one's best' or 'to try hard'. It implies sustained hard work, overcoming difficulty to finally achieve a goal. It is applied to all spheres of junior high school life. *Gambaru* is often used as encouragement to try even harder, as in this message from the principal to students at 一中:

> 自分の目標に向かって更に前進するよう頑張ってください。
> (Please look to your own aims and do your best to advance even further towards them.) (D18:1)

As in the above example, the combination of the right way (aims) and the right attitude (*gambaru*) provide a framework for improvement as a *ningen*. An area of junior high school life in which *gambaru* is particularly important is club activities. Each club has its own aims, and *gambaru* is one of the most commonly repeated phrases in these aims (F1:1,8-11). Complementing, and often used in conjunction with, *gambaru* is the concept of 一生懸命 (*isshoukenmei*), which means 'wholeheartedly' or 'with all one's might'. *Isshoukenmei* implies wholehearted engagement, as in this statement, written by a student after a school camp:

> この宿泊訓練で一番感じたことは、一生懸命頑張ることの大切さです。ハイキングで一生懸命歩き、オリエンテーリングで一生懸命考え、キャンプファイヤーで一生懸命踊って、・・・一生懸命やったことには、やっぱり一生懸命やったなりのことが戻ってくるんだということがわかったような気がしました
> (The thing that struck me most on this camp training was the importance of *isshoukenmei gambaru*. Walking *isshoukenmei* on the hike, thinking *isshoukenmei* on the orienteering, dancing *isshoukenmei* at the campfire..... I felt as though I'd understood that you get out of things the amount of *isshoukenmei* you put into them. (F1:44)

A similar comment is made in a different context, this time in relation to club activities. This student claims that what he has learned through doing club activities is:

> 自分自身一生懸命やったというじゅうじつした気持ち
> (the feeling of fulfilment of doing something *isshoukenmei*) (W3:19)

What is apparent in both these quotes from students is the realisation that doing things *isshoukenmei* produces rewards, and the reward is a sense of satisfaction or fulfilment. A higher-order concept which links this sense of fulfilment, *isshoukenmei gambaru* and *yareba dekiru* (if you try, you can do it) is commitment. Commitment is required and expected of the students, but through commitment students acquire a sense of fulfilment. This sense of fulfilment leads to renewed commitment, and so on.

An attitude of commitment is nurtured in Japanese junior high schools by the very nature of the school experience itself. With the combination of classes and club activities, students often spend 10 hours a day at school. Commitment to club activities also demands a considerable proportion of weekends and holidays. This extract from observation notes documents the levels of commitment shown by students and teachers:

> Mr K. is volleyball coach. Yesterday (Sunday) his team played a practice match at another school, meeting at 8am and finishing about 4pm. According to Mr. K., they were given the option of coming for a before-school practice this morning and chose to come at 6.30am! Mr K. pointed out that when they say 6.30, they mean 6.15am, because they want to start actually playing at 6.30. (O1:39)

Although Mr K. was complaining, he was actually an enthusiastic and dedicated volleyball coach. This enthusiasm passed on to the students, who were extremely committed to the club. For many students, commitment is somewhat further from the ideal of enthusiastic, wholehearted engagement. *Gambaru* does not necessarily entail enthusiasm. This review of the year by a first year class reveals something of what commitment means in practice:

> 夏休み:部活であそべなかったねー 宿題が多かったねー。クイズ5人にききました:夏休みの思い出は? 部活・・・5人
> (The summer holidays: we couldn't enjoy ourselves because of club activities, could we? And we had a lot of homework, didn't we? We asked 5 people, "What are your memories of the summer holidays?" All 5 answered... club activities.) (D10:20)

Out of the four-week summer holiday, most students spend two or three weeks at school practising club activities (O1:7). At home, they have a 60-page workbook and individual subject homework to complete (O5:1). What is left of the 'holidays', after commitment to school activities and school work has been fulfilled, is minimal.

Commitment to club activities is fairly consistent throughout junior high school, but commitment to academic work reaches its peak in the third year, during preparation for high school entrance exams. A conversation with some third year girls highlights their commitment to school work:

> Usually they leave school about 5.15pm (first and second years leave later), they get home, have tea and bath and settle down to an average of 4 hours homework every day, 6 days a week. The three I was talking to also attend *juku* twice a week for maths and English. (O1:36)

It should be noted that these three girls were aiming for some of the best high schools in the prefecture, but even so, the attitude of serious commitment they exhibited was impressive.

It should also be noted that, compared to other schools, 一中 required a high level of commitment of its students and its teachers. For some students, the expectations were difficult to live up to. For some teachers, too, adjusting to the degree of commitment required was not easy. One teacher, who had been transferred from a very small mountain school, exclaimed in the first few weeks at the school that:

> I can't believe it. Every teacher in this school is a superman/ superwoman! (O7:17)

Each school is different, then, but at 一中, the shared assumption is that the 'right attitude' is one of commitment to the school and its activities. The recognised way of exhibiting commitment is to *isshoukenmei gambaru.* The ultimate rationale for *gambaru* is the belief that if you try something, you can do it. Effort, persistence and commitment are the attitudes which bring approval and success.

Motivation-related attitudes. Effort-related attitudes were often quoted by students, but rarely by Monbusho. In contrast, motivation-related attitudes are mentioned more frequently by Monbusho and rarely by students. Possible reasons for this will be explored at the end of this section.

Motivation-related attitudes are those which relate to the student's own willingness or desire to do something. One recurring phrase in discussions of student attitudes is 積極的 (*sekkyokuteki*). *Sekkyokuteki* means 'active' or 'positive', and implies enthusiasm for the activity in question. For example, 文部省 (*Monbusho*, 1989b:96) includes in the aims for foreign languages:

> ・・外国語で積極的にコミュニケーションを図ろうとする態度を育てる・・
> (to foster an attitude of enthusiastically (*sekkyokuteki*) trying to communicate in the foreign language)

The phrase reappears regularly in other Monbusho documents, and is also widely used in schools. At a PTA meeting at the beginning of a new school year, parents were reminded that their children should:

> 部活動に積極的に参加する
> (take part *sekkyokuteki* in club activities.) (F5:5,5)

A concept which runs parallel with *sekkyokuteki* is やる気 (*yaru ki*), which literally means 'the spirit to do' and can be translated as 'will', 'drive' or 'motivation'. Like *sekkyokuteki*, it implies individual engagement in and enthusiasm for an activity. In

students, it is a desirable attitude, as this teacher states in a newsletter to her class on the first day of a new school year:

> 2年2組こんな生徒が集まっている:① やる気満々・・・
> (Class 2:2 is made up of students like this: 1) students brimming with *yaru ki*...) (F1:36)

And a student describes how this *yaru ki* is developed, in a description of the annual event in which each class makes a papier-mache float which is paraded through the town:

> 当然、先生ががんばられるのを見ていて僕らもやる気を出して、一生懸命になり,37人が1つになり、できた作品は、とてもすばらしく、1位をかくとくできました
> (Naturally, when we saw how hard our teacher was working, our *yaru ki* also came out, we worked *isshoukenmei*, the 37 of us became one, and our finished work was really superb, and we managed to obtain first place.) (F5:3,8)

In these two examples, the *yaru ki* is instigated by the teacher. *Yaru ki* and *sekkyokuteki* both imply motivation, but they do not necessarily suggest any proactivity on the part of the student. The Japanese concept which does suggest proactivity, and which is increasingly popular in education, is 進んで (*susunde*) or 自ら進んで (*mizukara susunde*). *Susunde* means 'willingly', 'voluntarily' or 'of one's own accord' and *mizukara*, which means 'oneself' draws attention to the self-instigated nature of the action.

Susunde is often used in conjunction with *sekkyokuteki*, and is advocated in all spheres of school life. One of the monthly student guidance aims at 一中, for example, was:

> 進んで行事に参加し、いろいろ活動に取り組もう。
> (To take part *susunde* in events, and to tackle various activities *sekkyokuteki*.) (F3:7)

Monbusho promotes the same attitude. For instance, the following statement forms part of the policy of sports in school:

> ・・自ら進んで運動を適切に実践する習慣を形成し、・・生徒が積極的に心身の健康の増進を図っていく態度や習慣を身に付け・・
> (to create the habit of *mizukara susunde* doing exercise appropriately... for students to acquire the attitude and habit of *sekkyokuteki* working towards the improvement of mental and physical health.) (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989a: 37)

What is noticeable here is the underlying assumption that attitudes can be seen as habits, and attitudes, like habits, can be trained and developed. From this point of view, attitudes are a sub-category of 'the right way', in that they can be acquired through

training and practice. The assumption that attitudes can be changed and trained is also related to the concepts of self which will be treated in chapter 8.

Motivation-related attitudes are part of Monbusho's overall policy of encouraging the development of independence, creativity and so on. Effort-related attitudes are the reality of the existing school system, which is a carefully structured environment advocating a right way and a wrong way. Training in the right way requires persistence and effort rather than proactivity, but there is no actual conflict between the two sets of attitudes. They stand side by side as the ideal and the reality. Monbusho policies state the ideal, students' comments reflect reality, and the school is the meeting place which draws both together. This is vividly illustrated by a comment by a teacher about first year students:

> 指示されたことは素直にやるが、進んで行事することは少ない。係活動などで、自主的なアイデイア豊かな活動をさせたい。
> (When they're asked, they do things obediently, but they do not often do things of their own accord. In committee activities and so on, we want to get them to do rich activities using independent ideas.) (F5:3,6)

Whether it is in real or ideal terms, the attitude is considered essential, perhaps even more important than the activity or result. This was a view expressed to students by the vice-principal after an inter-school sports competition:

> Students come back to school and report their results to the staff, who stand to listen. The soccer team lost both matches and some of them are in or close to tears. The vice-principal gives them a pep talk, saying that it's OK to lose provided they "*isshoukenmei gambatta*". (O7:29)

7.5 Summary

The ideal human being in Japanese education is balanced in all aspects of self. S/he is striving for the right way to live and the right attitudes to live by. This image of an ideal person is basically shared by Monbusho, teachers and students. It is shared **as an ideal**. It may seem to be distant from the reality of everyday life, but it is a recognisable approximation of that life which is supported and encouraged on all sides. This view of an ideal human being is not situation-specific, time-specific or context-specific. It lies beneath these layers to form the basis of some of the fundamental beliefs about self, society and identity. As such, it is the most stable layer of ideas about self in the world. It is also the most important layer to understand, as it forms the foundations of the ideas about national and international identity which will be examined in later chapters.

Chapter 8

The developing self

Like chapter 7, this chapter is concerned with the foundations of self, but attention shifts from a generalised image of an ideal human being to the role of the individual in the attainment of that ideal.

In section 1.2, the principles of primary and secondary control were summarised. In this chapter, I will demonstrate how, in a Japanese junior high school, the development of self as a human being is largely synonymous with the development of secondary control. This process of the development of self, and of secondary control, affects the way students see themselves in any group, in the school and in the world. Evidently, it is not a process which suddenly begins when students enter junior high school. Aspects of the process of development of self appeared in the discussion of various stages of education in chapter 5. However, it is at junior high school that the process receives unprecedented attention and significance.

The 'ideal self' portrayed in chapter 7 is closely linked to the developing self which appears in this chapter. Without 'the right attitudes' and acceptance that there exists a 'right way', students cannot engage in the process of self-development. Without the goal of becoming a better, balanced *ningen*, the process has no goal and little meaning. The shared ideals and beliefs described in chapter 7, then, form the common structure and motivation for what is, essentially, an individual and personal process.

This chapter will be divided into two main sections. The first section will put forward some of the explicit discussions of self and the development of self which appeared in the data, and will relate them to theory. Although there are contradictions in the discussions, they shed some light on the thinking behind the actual process of self-development in junior high school, which is the focus of the second section.

8.1 Discussions of self

In section 3.4, Lebra's (1992:105) tripartite model of the Japanese self was reviewed. This model turned out to be the most accurate reflection of the discussions of self which appeared in the data, and so I will use Lebra's terms in the first part of this section. To recap briefly, Lebra proposes self in three dimensions, namely "the interactional self", "the inner self" and "the boundless self". These dimensions are not mutually exclusive, but overlap and combine to form a whole.

The first of the discussions emerging from the data is the idea of "self through others", closely related to Lebra's 'interactional self' (see section 3.4). That is, the self is formed and developed through interactions with, and the opinions of, others. An illustration of this idea is found in a text in the first year Japanese textbook (光村図書, *Mitsumura Tosho*, 1996c: 278):

> おもしろいことに、一人一人の「あなた」をよく知ろうとする努力から、「わたし」を知ることが生まれてくるのです・・・相手の姿に照らし出されて、自分の姿が見えてくるのです。
> (The interesting thing is that it is when we make an effort to know each individual "you" well that our knowledge of "I" is born.... Our own form can be seen reflected in the form of others.)

"Self through others" is contrasted and complemented by "others through self". This is an idea which does not appear in Western theories of self, but which is significant in Japanese education. The basic principle is that, through a deep knowledge of self, one can know the human condition, and therefore can know others. The roots of this view can be found in the Buddhist philosophy that the totality of the universe is present in every individual (see section 3.3). This dimension of self is closely related to Lebra's "inner self" (see section 3.4), which she notes is identified as the shrine of the god that each person is endowed with. Although not explicitly ascribed to its Buddhist or Shinto roots, this view of an inner, complete self representative of the world appears in an end-of-year message from a class teacher to his students. The teacher quotes the following poem to the students (D10:8):

> 自分を愛するをやめるとき
> ひとは
> 他人を愛することをやめ
> 世界を見失ってしまう
> 自分があるとき
> 他人があり
> 世界がある
> (When you stop loving yourself
> you stop loving other people
> and you lose sight of the world.
> When your self exists
> Others exist
> And the world exists.)

The idea of "others through self" could not be stated more clearly than in the second half of this poem, but the teacher adds his own comments (D10:9):

> ひとがひとであるために、あなたがあなたであり続けるために、"自分を愛すること"を大切にしたいものです。自分を愛することのできないもの

> は、自分を大切にできません。自分を大切にできないものは、他人を大切にすることなどできないはずです。
> (In order for a person to be a person, in order for you to continue being you, I want you to realise the importance of "loving yourself". If you cannot love yourself, you cannot consider yourself important. If you cannot consider yourself important, then you must be unable to consider others important.)

The idea of "others through self" is also expressed by Monbusho, although not explicitly. In the curriculum for Japanese, the first year focuses on awareness of the situation, the second year on awareness of the self, and the third year on awareness of the other (文部省 1989d: 26). A clear understanding of self is considered necessary before the student can understand others, reinforcing the belief that others can be known through knowledge of the self.

The third dimension of self which appeared in the data also has its roots in Buddhist philosophy. This is the "no-self" or, to use Lebra's term, the "boundless self" (see section 3.4). Although this dimension of self appears less frequently in discussions of self in the junior high school, it is still present. For example, the following comments were written in a text that a teacher had prepared for a 学活 (*gakkatsu*, class activities) lesson (T10):

> 自分らしさって何だろうと一生懸命考えて、考えれば考えるほどわからなくなっていたのです・・・今がいつで、ここがどこで、自分がどこのだれかっていうことさえ、忘れているんです。そういう瞬間こそ、私が本当に私らしく生きている瞬間なんじゃないでしょうか。
> (When I thought as hard as I could about what it meant to be myself, I found that the more I thought, the less I understood... but there are times when I forget time and place, and even who and where I am. Perhaps it is precisely at those moments that I am really living as me.)

In philosophical terms, this is the moment when subject and object merge, and when the boundaries between self and the world around collapse.

These three dimensions of self - interactional, inner and boundless - co-exist within the junior high school, then, and underpin student ideas and ideas about students. The three dimensions come together in another cornerstone of belief about self. This is that each individual creates him/herself and his/her own life. This is an extremely powerful belief, affecting the most basic ideas of self. Again, its roots can be found in the Buddhist philosophy of self-cultivation (see section 3.3), which holds that each individual must discover the truth through personal experience and effort, with the help of the framework of "the right way".

The beginning point of self-creation is the realisation of human weakness and strength, as Monbusho states in the guidelines for moral education (文部省 1989e:33):

> 人間には弱さや醜さもあるが、それを克服する強さや気高さがあることを信じて、人間として生きることに喜びを見いだすように努める。
> (To believe that, although humans have weakness and ugliness, they also have the strength and heart to overcome it, and to strive to discover the pleasure of living as a human being)

Once this combination of weakness and strength has been recognised, the route is clear for the creation of one's self and one's own life. Another of the aims for moral education (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989e:24) reads:

> 真理を愛し、真実を求め、理想の実現を目指して自己の人生を切り開いていくようにする。
> (To love and seek truth, and to carve out one's own life, aiming to realise one's ideals.)

The theme of carving out one's own life and self reappears in the textbooks, particularly in model student essays. In the first year Japanese textbook, for example, a model self-introduction concludes:

> 中学生としての新しい自分を作りたいと思っています。
> (As a junior high school student, I would like to build a new self.)
> (光村図書, *Mitsumura Tosho*, 1996c: 39)

As examples of the kind of thing students should write (i.e. the right way to think), model essays have a role in promoting beliefs in self-creation. At the school level, too, the idea of creation of and control over one's own life is prevalent. In a newsletter, the year head writes:

> 大切なことは、悩んだりつまずいたりしながらも自分で納得できる人生が歩めるかどうか・・
> (The important thing is that, even if you are worrying and stumbling, is your life progressing in a way that you yourself approve of?)(F1:34)

The implication here is that students should be able to control the progress of their own lives. This quote also draws out the particularities of the junior high school period. These three years are seen as a time when students do "worry and stumble", but also as a time when they assume control of their own lives and selves. This is explicitly stated by Monbusho in the guidelines for Health and Physical Education (文部省 1989b: 81):

> 思春期においては、自己の認識が深まり、自己形成がなされること。
> (During adolescence, awareness of the self is deepened, and the self is created.)

The "worrying and stumbling" aspect is expressed in a letter from a year head to parents at 一中:

> 中学生ともなると、さまざま悩みも生じてきます。友人や異性問題、身体の問題、学習の問題・・・これらや、本人の弱い気持ちが原因となって、悩み、いらいら、反抗心になります。それらを自制できずに、他人にあたったり、反社会的行動に出ることもあります。
> (Various worries emerge when the child becomes a junior high school student. Problems with friends and the opposite sex, physical problems, study problems... And if the person's state of mind is weak, then these things can cause worries, irritability and a rebellious spirit. If these cannot be self-controlled but are directed towards other people, the result can be anti-social behaviour.) (F5:3,2)

For this teacher, as for Monbusho, the beginning point of self-creation is the weakness and strength of the human being. She portrays what might happen if the individual's strength is not used to overcome the weakness, or if the individual does not engage him/herself in the process of self-creation. Although school and society can provide the structures, environment and encouragement for the development of self, the ultimate responsibility lies with the student alone. A few students do not accept this responsibility, and the result is the anti-social situation described above. The majority of students, however, do engage themselves in this responsibility of self-creation, and the principles and practicalities of this process will be examined next.

8.2 The creation and development of self

The previous section looked at Monbusho and teacher interpretations of self. This section moves down a level to interpretations of how the reality of everyday school life fits in with Monbusho and teacher theories. The categories which emerged from the data fell into two processes of self-development, namely, self-study and self-training. Both these processes contribute to the overall aim of self-improvement. The rest of this section will focus on each of these processes in turn.

Self-study. The process of self-study requires an increasing understanding of the self. The self is seen as an object of study, and a detailed image of the self is created and developed. The three major strands in this study of the self are:

- self-awareness (自覚, *jikaku*)
- self-reflection (反省, *hansei*)
- self-knowledge (自分を知る, *jibun wo shiru*)

The emphasis on self-awareness is continued from earlier stages of education (see section 5.4). Throughout the Monbusho guidelines, the phrase 人間としての生き方の自覚を深める (to deepen self-awareness of the way to live as a human being) is constantly repeated. Self-awareness can mean awareness of the self as an individual (as a human being) or as a member of a particular group, as in the aims of the Student Council at 一中:

> ‥一中生としての自覚を高め、よりよい学校生活を過ごしていこうという意欲を育てる‥
> (To heighten self-awareness as a student of 一中, and to foster the motivation to make our school life better and better..) (F3:15,22)

The relationship between self as individual and as member of the group is complex, and will be discussed in detail in section 10.1.

Closely linked to self-awareness is self-reflection. The Japanese term is 反省 (*hansei*), which means 'soul-searching', 'reflection', 'reconsideration' or 'repentance'. Again this is a theme which emerged at elementary school (see section 5.3), but which gains prominence in junior high school. At junior high school, the key role of *hansei* is stressed at all levels of the educational hierarchy. At Monbusho level, one of the aims of moral education (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989e: 25) is:

> 自らを振り返り自己の向上を図るとともに、個性を伸ばして充実した生き方を求めるようにする
> (To reflect on the self and strive for the improvement of the self and, extending one's individuality, to seek a fulfilling way of life.)

Self-reflection is directly related to improvement of the self, and this is an idea which reappears at all levels. In the first year Japanese textbook, the following advice on relations with others appears in a text written by a psychologist specifically for the book. The author explains what students should do when they disagree with someone:

> そんなとき、何もかも他人のせいにして非難したりせずに、自分が思いこみをしていなかったかとふり返ってみる そして、自分の思いこみに気づいたときに、なぜ自分はそのような思いこみをしてしまったのかを反省してみる
> (At those times, don't just blame or criticise the other person, but reflect on whether you made false assumptions. When you realise that you assumed something wrongly, examine yourself to see why you made that assumption.) (光村図書, *Mitsumura Tosho*, 1996c: 277).

The recommendation to examine and change oneself rather than trying to blame or change other people or the situation is prevalent at school level too. Student committees and clubs have regular *hansei* meetings, and the collected self-reflections and self-criticisms are published and distributed to all students, teachers and parents. In the class

situation, too, *hansei* is one of the threads of everyday life. One of the aims for second year classes at 一中 was to:

> 自分をしっかりみつめ直す。
> (To firmly reform oneself through self-examination.) (F5:5,5)

In practice, this could take various forms. For example, many classes set aside time at the end of each day for *hansei* of the day's activities. In several classes, the morning homeroom session includes a short speech by one student each day. These speeches are also a form of *hansei*, as observation notes remark:

> In O-sensei's class, the students' one-minute speeches are written in a class notebook... almost all the speeches seemed to be 反省(*hansei*) type - reflections on the students' own weak points. Frequently recurring topics were, "すぐにあきらめる"[I give up easily] and "発表できない"[I can't do presentations]. (O7:34)

Hansei, then, is encouraged within the framework and structures which exist in school, and within every sphere of school life. Student *hansei* questionnaires form the basis of termly teacher *hansei* meetings, meetings which often last many hours. At these meetings, teachers reflect on the students' questionnaire results and comments and on their own experience, and discuss how to improve the identified weak points (F3:12). For students, *hansei* implies self-criticism and determination to improve one's own shortcomings in action or attitude. The self-critical nature of *hansei* is clearly described by a girl reflecting on her three years experience in the tennis club:

> テニスコートで、自分の欠点を探し、それをそぎ落としていく。
> (On the tennis court, you look for your own faults and you slice them off.) (W3:25)

And another student demonstrates even more clearly the connection between self-criticism, the identification of shortcomings and the emergence of resolution to improve:

> 中間テストや期末テストの前は、みんな必死で、勉強していました。しかし、僕は、勉強がきらいで、なまけていたのでいい点数は、とれませんでした 僕は・・二年生になったら、もっとしっかりしたいと思います。
> (Before the mid-term and end-of-term tests, everyone was studying madly. But I don't like studying, and so I was lazy and then I didn't get good marks. Once I'm a second year, I'd like to study harder.)(D10:42)

The above two examples describe individual *hansei*, but group *hansei* is also very common, as in this example, which appeared in a student-written class newsletter:

> 近づく「合唱コンクール」！！だが、1年2組の歌唱力は・・残念ながらお世辞にもgoodとはいえません・・がんばろうよ、私らの歌は先生を含め、私達のために歌うんだ。
> (The chorus contest is approaching, but, even if we were being complimentary, Class 1-2's singing could not, unfortunately, be called

> good... let's get on and persevere, because we're singing this song for ourselves and for our teacher.) (F1:23)

Again, the tone is critical, but the purpose of this *hansei* is not self-destructive, but is to provide motivation for self-improvement. Self-improvement is always possible through effort, which means that *hansei* is usually constructive rather than destructive.

Self-awareness combined with self-reflection facilitates self-knowledge. Once again, the purpose of self-knowledge is to bring about self-improvement, as is clear in this comment from the first year class activities textbook (福島県中学校長会&日本進路指導協会編, *Fukushima Prefecture Junior High School Principals' Association and Japan Careers Guidance Association*, 1995: 61). This passage is quoted at length as it draws together several of the threads already laid out in this chapter:

> 中学生にとって、自分を知るということは、どんな意味をもつのでしょうか 中学生はからだも心も、成長の過程にあります。そのとき自分の特色のなかで、もっと伸ばしていきたいところがあれば、それを伸ばしていく努力をつづければ、自分をさらに成長させることができるでしょう。
> また、特色のなかで、改善したほうがよいとおもわれるものがあれば、それを直す努力をして、自分が将来、こうありたいと理想のすがたに、より近づけるようにしたいものです
> (What does knowing yourself mean for a junior high school student? For junior high school students, the body, heart and mind are in the process of growing. At this time, if there are any of your characteristics that you want to develop further, and if you try hard to develop them, you will be able to make yourself grow even more.
> And, if there are any of your characteristics that you think it would be better to improve, and if you try hard to reform them, you will be able to come closer to the ideal person you would like to become in the future.)

Self-knowledge is focused on the ideal person one would like to become. In order to become that person, the student must know, through self-awareness and self-reflection, what kind of person s/he is now. Having identified the discrepancies between the two images, the student can plan, through the use of aims, areas for improvement and, through the use of the right way and the right attitudes, can work towards that improvement. Heavily based on the morality of aspiration discussed in section 1.2, study of the self is study of how the self can become a better person.

Self-training. Occurring in parallel with the process of self-study is the process of self-training. Growing awareness and knowledge of the self are complemented by concrete efforts to change and train the self. As with self-study, there are several contributory strands to the process of self-training. Broadly divided, these are:

- self-discipline/self-control (自制心)
- suffering (苦労)
- self-management (自主)

◊ self-responsibility (自立心)
◊ overcoming self (自分との戦い etc.)

In Japan, junior high school is the time when students learn self-discipline and self-control. As was quoted in section 8.1, a lack of self-control is thought to lead to anti-social behaviour and rebellion. Students are expected to learn self-discipline in all aspects of their school life and, ideally, the atmosphere of the school should reflect this shared self-discipline. Thus, a cause for concern and discussion among teachers at 一中 was the perceived problem that:

> 学校生活全般で緊張感がゆるんでいる
> (In school life in general, the feeling of tension has slackened.) (F3:12,8)

This 'tension', or atmosphere of self-discipline, is required in academic study, throughout the three years of junior high school. Students have to learn that:

> 日々の学習を大切にすることが、重要になるわけです。
> (It is essential that students make their day-by-day study important.)
> (F5:5,4)

As this quote illustrates, self-discipline does not require great feats of endurance so much as everyday, sustained effort. In other words, self-discipline is achieved through the effort-related attitudes described in section 7.4. In the academic sphere, high school entrance exams are the culmination of this process of self-discipline and effort.

In a similar way, the practice of club activities is seen as an exercise in self-discipline. One student describes the reality of club activities:

> The first year, when I spent club activity hours building up my physical strength and picking up the fallen balls. The second year, when I could only just keep up with the same training and exercises as the seniors, trying hard to improve my technique... (F7:2,29)

Club activities are not designed to be constantly exciting or fun. On the contrary, they are often routinely tedious. It is the effort required to remain engaged in this tedium that constitutes the development of self-discipline.

The self-discipline that students learn in junior high school often involves hardship. There is a traditional belief in Japan that maturity comes through surmounting hardship, as explained in section 5.4, and this is an important theme in junior high school. The role of the school in developing self-discipline through hardship is expounded in a letter to parents about club activities from the vice-principal of 一中:

> 「疲れる」など、毎日の練習は決して楽なものではありません。でも中学生という大切な時期に、つらいことや苦しいことを自分の努力で乗り越えた実感は、いくつになっても自信や誇りとなって、その後の人生を支えてくれます。・・「今つらくとも、がんばれ、がんばれ、へこたれるな」・・何とかしようと自分を鍛える人間になってほしいと願っています。(emphasis in original)
> (Feelings such as, "I'm tired"; the daily practice is by no means an easy thing. But, **in the important period of junior high school, the feeling of surmounting difficult and painful things by one's own efforts will lead to self-confidence and pride, and will be a support for the rest of one's life....** "Even though it's hard now, persevere, persevere and don't lose heart.".. I pray that the students will become *ningen* who can get through and train themselves.) (F1:13)

For many students, this idea of facing and overcoming hardship is one of the overriding aspects of junior high school life. Examples from student experiences of club activities are numerous, and it appears that club activities are at the forefront of this process of self-training. The following comments are representative of many student voices:

> サッカーの練習はけっこうつらかっただけどそのつらい練習を乗り越えたから技術的にも、精神的にも強くなれたのだと思う。
> (Football training was really hard, but by getting through that hard training, I think I have become stronger in terms of skills and of spirit.) (W3:20)

For some students, the mere fact of having to do the activity is a hardship in itself, as this first year student explains:

> 私は学校が嫌いです 理由は部活があるからです・・これからは、嫌いな事にも立ち向かって、にげないように生きます。
> (I don't like school. The reason is that they have club activities... from now on, I'm going to face up to things I dislike, and live without running away.) (D18:29)

And, two years ahead, a third year girl describes what she has gained from doing club activities, even though she hated them:

> そんな思い出は社会に出て生活していっても、私の自信としてつらいときも、かなしい時も、あのふんばりをもってのりこえていけると思いました。
> (When I'm living out in society, those memories will be my self-confidence, so that I think I'll be able to get through difficult times and sad times with the same effort.) (W3:32)

For these and many other students, club activities means facing up to unpleasant, difficult or tiring experiences. Like *hansei*, though, the process is not intended to be destructive or harmful to students' development. On the contrary, the rationale for such hardship is that it engenders self-confidence, self-discipline and the ability to cope with new or difficult situations. This rationale seems to be accepted and approved by students, who recognise their own growth as human beings through overcoming hardship.

A corollary of self-discipline is self-management, that is, the ability to manage one's own time, effort and activities to comply with all the demands of school life. Normally, students have to cope with school work, club activities and homework. At certain times of the year, however, there are the additional demands of preparation and practice for special events. Even though these are school events, they are not an excuse for any lapse in management of time, as this notice to homeroom teachers reveals:

> 学校祭の準備に追われて家庭学習や宿題等の提出状況が悪くなっているようです。ご指導よろしくお願いします。
> (Pushed to one side by the preparation for the school festival, there seems to be a decline in the amount of studying being done at home and the amount of homework being handed in. Please give guidance.) (F3:6)

In order to balance all the demands of school, students are expected to discipline themselves to watch a limited amount of television etc., and letters are sent from teachers to request parents' co-operation in such matters. This self-management of daily time and activities is facilitated through the use of day books. In the day books, students record how much time each day they spend on homework, TV watching, computer games, sleep and so on, and teachers then check the books. This is an example of the regulated lifestyle discussed in section 7.3.

As well as developing self-discipline and self-management, students are expected to take on responsibility for themselves in the junior high school phase. Within the structures of the school, there are ample opportunities for taking responsibility. In section 7.3, the system of student committees was described. Through this system, every student in the school holds one or more positions of responsibility. Similarly, every student has a role in the daily cleaning of the school, and no outside staff are employed to clean the school buildings or grounds. This encourages a sense of responsibility for the immediate environment. Of course, some students shoulder more responsibility than others. Each club has its own committee, and one club captain describes her sense of responsibility for the club:

> I thought many times that I wanted to leave the club. But I couldn't do it. Because I was the captain. I couldn't run away from there thinking of all the members and our softball team. (F7:2,29)

A sense of responsibility for the school as a whole and for the self as a part of the school is encouraged. For example, the aims of the central committee of the Student Council of 一中 include this:

> 自覚を持って、より良い学校作りを目指す。
> (To have self-awareness and to create an even better school.) (F1:7)

An example of this aim in practice was a change of the school rules on hairstyle. Student dissatisfaction with the existing rules had mounted over many months, and many teachers also thought that the existing rules were unnecessarily strict. The subsequent six-month long change of rules was carefully orchestrated by senior teachers to encourage student responsibility and internalisation of rules. A document circulated to teachers stated that the aim of the process of change was:

> 生徒に校則を自分のものとしてとらえ、自主的に学校生活を送る態度を育てる。
> (To get students to see school rules as their own thing, and to cultivate an attitude of living school life autonomously.) (F3:16,7)

Although the outcome of the process was already decided, the process itself was considered a valuable opportunity for fostering a sense of responsibility and an attitude of engagement in the students. Thus, a student "school rules" committee was established, and class discussions, school discussions and student-produced questionnaires ensued. Teachers closely monitored and guided the process, but the outward impression was of a student-led movement to change the rules. The purpose was to give students ownership of the rules, on the principle that they would then take greater responsibility for conforming to the rules. This process was typical of the approach teachers use to develop student responsibility within the school.

Finally, there is the idea of "overcoming the self". Self-discipline, hardship, self-management and self-responsibility are valued because they help the student to overcome him/herself, to be able to control the self. Again, this is a theme dominated by club activity experiences. A popular image is of fighting the self, as this student writes, recalling the advice of her tennis coach:

> スポーツは自分自身との戦い 最後は心で決まる。自分の力を信じる。
> (Sports are a battle with the self. The end result is decided by the heart. You have to believe in your own strength.) (F4:3)

Another student agrees that sports are a battle with the self rather than with an opponent:

> 部活動で学んだこととして1つ何ごとにも自分に負けず精一杯力を出すことを学びました。
> (One thing I've learned through club activities is how to put my strength and soul into everything and not to lose to myself.) (W3:17)

In both examples, the emphasis is on the strength that the individual has to fight the self, and this echoes the idea expressed in section 8.1 of human strength being used to overcome human weakness. The second example also demonstrates the importance attached to the right attitude, in this case, wholehearted engagement.

The environment of junior high school provides the opportunities for self-training. It demands self-discipline and effective management of one's own time, attitude and activities. It develops a sense of responsibility through its structures and routines. It provides hardship through which students can fight and overcome themselves. In such an environment, the possibilities for self-training are wide, but the degree to which they are taken up depends on the individual student.

Self-improvement. It should already be clear from the discussion in this chapter that self-study and self-training are not ends in themselves. Rather, they are means to an end, and that end is self-improvement.

The purpose of self-study and of self-training is to reflect on, improve and change the self, so that the self becomes a better person within the established structures of the inhabited society. This notion is already well-developed by the age of 12 to 15. In a questionnaire asking students how the school could be better, suggestions concerning changes to school routine, rules, structures etc. were far less common than suggestions concerning changes to the self. So, although changes to school uniform, hairstyle and so on were suggested, these were overshadowed by comments such as the following:

> 必要なことをやりとげる
> (To see through to the end things you have to do.) (F3:12,8)

Here there is no suggestion of changing "the things you have to do", but resolution to adapt the self and *gambaru* to get them done. Another student's suggestion for improvement of the school is:

> みんなながよく五つの心をまもる
> (To all be friends and keep the "five hearts".) (F3: 12,6)

Individual self-improvement and improvement of the group are also linked in the class activities textbook (福島県中学校長会＆日本進路指導協会編, *Fukushima Prefecture Junior High School Principals' Association and Japan Careers Guidance Association*, 1995: 82), where students are given the following advice:

> これからのよりよい中学生活を築いていくためにも、個人として、また学級としても、この1年間の活動をふり返り、気持ちを新たにして、2学年を迎えるようにしましょう
> (So that we can construct an even better junior high school life, let us review our activities in the first year as individuals and as a class, renewing our hearts so that we can welcome the second year.)

Here, the interlinking of 'reviewing activities' (self-study), and 'constructing' (self-training) 'an even better school life' (self-improvement) demonstrates the close

relationship between the three processes of self-development. The three processes combine to form a procedure for the construction of self as a better human being.

8.3 Summary

In this and the previous chapter, I have tried to make explicit some of the basic assumptions beneath Japanese ideas of self as they appear in a junior high school context. Like chapter 7, most of the ideas unfolded in this chapter are shared by Monbusho, schools and students. They are the unquestioned 'reality' of self, the a priori 'facts' which underlie any discussion of self in society.

The ultimate goal of self-development is self-improvement. Self-improvement is attained through study of the self (which relates to the belief that the world can be known through the self) and through self-training (which relates to the belief in self-cultivation). This self-development does not occur in a vacuum. Throughout school, students are socialised into the desirability of becoming a better, balanced person, as described in sections 7.1 and 7.2. This becomes the aim and purpose of self-development. Throughout school, students are socialised into the idea and practicalities of the right way to act, think and feel, as described in sections 7.3 and 7.4. These become the framework and structures of self-development.

Throughout this process of self-development, there is scarcely a suggestion from any side that the aims, framework or structures should be changed or improved. The burden of responsibility for improvement rests firmly on the self. It is the self, rather than the situation, which needs to be improved. The balance between primary and secondary control falls heavily on the secondary side (see section 1.2). However, some degree of counterweight is provided by the ideas relating to responsibility. The encouragement of student responsibility in school activities gives students some degree of primary control over their immediate environment. Even in these cases, though, the responsibility is for teacher-guided continuation of the existing structures (committee, club etc.) rather than for any improvement or change to the accepted structures and aims. Even the case of the change of school rules on hairstyle, which appears to be a direct result of student pressure, was used to encourage the development of secondary control. Students certainly put pressure on teachers, and student opinion caused the change of rules. However, the teachers' reaction in swiftly agreeing to the change, but then spending six months in encouraging students to think about, internalise and comply to school rules,

shifted the balance of the episode from an example of primary control to an example of secondary control.

The fact that students exercise little primary control, and little expectation of being able to exert primary control, in school does not mean that they are powerless. On the contrary, the development of secondary control as it is perceived in Japanese schools is a source of empowerment. Control over the self is much more predictable than control over others or the situation. Control over the self leads to adaptability and the self-confidence to deal with new situations and challenges, as several teachers and students mentioned. This flexibility will be an important factor in the formation of identities such as national and international identities.

Self-control, self-study, self-training, self-improvement and all the other processes described in section 8.2 imply a view of self which separates the subject and object, the "I" and the "me". The development of the interactional self (self formed through others) is apparent in everyday school life, as is the development of the inner self (others formed through self). In both these categories, the subjective self studies, trains and improves a distinct objective self. The third dimension of self, the 'boundless self', where self is supposed to lose awareness of the self, and subject and object become one, may be apparent in discussions of self by teachers and in texts, but is not evident in the practical, everyday life of the junior high school, at least not in the consciousness of students.

What remains is an interactional self, an inner self, a world of others and a programme of self-development which relies heavily on the development of secondary control within a structured environment. These foundations necessitate the changing of the self, and it is in the application of such change that disparity between Monbusho and student interpretations of self begin to emerge. The next chapter will examine this process of change, bridging the way between the foundational concepts of self discussed in these two chapters and the national, international, global and cultural identities discussed in chapters 10 and 11.

Chapter 9

The changing self

9.1 Ways of seeing and thinking

Ways of seeing, ways of thinking and ways of feeling are themes which have threaded their way through the theory and data chapters of this thesis so far. Ways of seeing, thinking and feeling affect all identities (chapter 1), including national and international identities (chapter 2). Ways of thinking and seeing traditionally accepted in Japan (chapter 3) form the basis of the ideal human being (chapter 7) and the development of self (chapter 8). National and international identity as a Japanese and as a member of world society are also based on shared ways of thinking and seeing (chapter 4). The encouragement of certain ways of thinking, feeling and seeing at earlier stages of education was described in chapter 5.

Chapters 7 and 8 dealt with the general shared ideals of self and of the practice of self-improvement as a human being within the structures of society. This chapter focuses specifically on ways of seeing, thinking and feeling as one aspect of self-improvement. Although I have reduced it to one aspect, it is perhaps the most fundamental aspect of self-improvement, as it gives meaning to the whole process of self-improvement. The previous two chapters portray a self which might be interpreted as nothing more than the surface conformity of one's own actions to a set of rules and expectations. To a certain extent, it is probably true that outward conformity to the established system and norms in Japan, as in most societies, reaps the rewards of approval and success. Real self-development, however, requires deep inner change as well as outward efforts to improve actions and attitudes. Not surprisingly, this is where divergence begins to emerge, between individual students and between students and Monbusho. The ideal described in chapter 7 is commonly subscribed to, as an ideal. The external aspects of self-improvement (self-discipline, hardship etc.) are assured to a considerable extent by the school system, structures and expectations, although student reactions to them do vary. Inner processes of development of ways of thinking, seeing and feeling are at the deepest, most personal and most individual level of self.

It is natural that individual and larger group differences appear at this level of self. Nevertheless, although the development of ways of thinking, feeling and seeing is ultimately an individual, personal process, it is still an explicit concern of Monbusho and the Japanese education system. For example, one of the content areas of the Monbusho curriculum guidelines for Japanese (文部省 1989d: 45-47) deals purely with ものの見方や考え方 (ways of seeing things and thinking about things). This is carried through into the Japanese textbooks used in schools, with study sections often requiring students to look at the author's or characters' ways of thinking and seeing (e.g. 光村図書,

Mitsumura Tosho, 1996c: 45, 1996a: 47). In the same textbooks, a recurring theme is that the way of seeing things is more important than what is actually seen. The first year textbook (光村図書, *Mitsumura Tosho*, 1996c: 46) includes a non-fiction essay written around the point that 見方によって見えてくるものがちがう (the thing that is seen changes according to the way of seeing). In a later chapter, an explanation of a poem makes the same point, stating that the world does not change, but the way of seeing changes the world (光村図書, *Mitsumura Tosho*, 1996c: 161).

The relationship of ways of thinking, seeing and feeling to the overall theme of self-improvement and development as a human being is delineated by 文部省 (*Monbusho*, 1989d: 54) in a discussion of the significance of the appreciation of literature:

> ・・書き手の思考や心情をとらえ、ものの見方や考え方、感じ方を養い、読み手としての立場で人間、社会、自然などについて考え、感想や意見をもつことに至るというのがねらいである。そこから豊かな思想が形成され心情が養われて、人間としての成長が期待される。
> (The aim is for students to grasp the writer's thoughts and feelings, to nurture their ways of seeing, feeling and thinking about things, to think about human beings, society and nature from the reader's point of view, and to come to have their own impressions and opinions. From there, it is hoped that rich thinking can be created and sentiments nurtured, so that they can grow as human beings.)

Some of the concepts in this passage have already been mentioned in previous chapters. Those not already discussed will be explained in the remaining sections of this chapter. Sections 9.2 and 9.3 will deal with issues relating to one's own and others' ways of thinking and seeing. Sections 9.4 and 9.5 build on these sections to compare Monbusho and student interpretations and applications of ways of seeing and thinking.

9.2 Constructing one's own ways of seeing and thinking

For Monbusho, the construction of one's own ways of seeing and thinking is underpinned by the tripartite development of the abilities to think (and have one's own ideas), judge and express oneself. This principle is illustrated by a quote from the discussion of the main policies of the 1989 reforms (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989a: 5):

> 個性を生かすためには、生徒一人一人が自分のものの見方や考え方をもち、内発的な意欲や主体的な態度を育成することが大切である。このため、特に、思考力、判断力、表現力などの能力の育成を図る・・よう配慮した。
> (In order to develop individuality, it is important that each student should have his/her own way of seeing and thinking about things, and an attitude of independence and inner motivation should be cultivated. To

> do this, we have especially taken into consideration the planning of the fostering of abilities such as the ability to think, to judge and to express oneself.)

It should be noted that this connection of the abilities to think, judge and express oneself with ways of seeing and thinking is restricted largely to Monbusho. It appears occasionally at school level, usually in policy documents, but is not apparent at the student level. At school and student level, the mental abilities of thinking, judging and expressing oneself are an aim and concern, but are not explicitly linked to the development of ways of seeing and thinking. This has implications for the development of national and international identities, in that the development of ways and seeing and thinking seems to be perceived by Monbusho as a largely mental process, whereas for students it requires the involvement of all aspects of self. This is a point which will be returned to later. For now, the fact remains that, for Monbusho, the link between ways of seeing and thinking and abilities to think, judge and express oneself is a valid one, and so it will be examined in some detail.

Development of 思考力 (*shikouryoku*, lit. powers of thinking) is closely linked to the development of 自分の考え (*jibun no kangae*, one's own thoughts), especially in the early stages of junior high school. For example, in the Monbusho guidelines for Japanese, examples of aims such as the following (文部省 1989d:58) are abundant:

> 話合いにおけるそれぞれの発言を注意して聞き、話合いの方向をとらえて自分の考えをもつこと
> (To listen to the discussion, paying attention to the various remarks, to grasp the direction of the discussion and to have one's own ideas.)

The requirement for students to develop their own ideas is concentrated on the first year aims and content. As students progress through junior high school, the emphasis on having their own ideas weakens. Although the idea is still apparent in the third year, it is muted by the further requirements of self-reflection and the change of one's own ideas to adapt to the situation and others. One point regarding the choice of materials for the third year Japanese syllabus illustrates the difference, recommending materials which encourage students to:

> ..自分の考えを見直したり深めたりする。
> (revise and deepen their own thoughts.)(文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989d:24)

This perception of 自分の考え (one's own thoughts) as a preliminary stage is not restricted to the macro-level of Monbusho aims for each year. It is mirrored in a section of a first year textbook which advises students how to study. The first stage is to summarise one's own ideas, the second stage is to listen to others' ideas and the third stage is to reflect on and revise one's own ideas (光村図書, *Mitsumura Tosho*, 1996c: 50). One's own ideas are valued, therefore, but perhaps not in their raw form. Ideally,

they should be a refined version, incorporating the views of other people and a good dose of self-reflection.

The development of ways of thinking and seeing, according to Monbusho, also requires the nurturing of an ability to judge for oneself, rather than just accept what others say as given. The justification given by 文部省 (*Monbusho*, 1989a: 88) for the development of powers of judgement is:

> 社会の変化に対応して主体的に生き抜いていくための基盤となる力を育てるため・・思考力や判断力などの能力の育成・・は極めて重要である。
> (In order to foster the basic abilities necessary to survive independently through the changes of society.. it is extremely important to foster the abilities of thought and judgement.)

The importance attached to the development of powers of judgement is shared by the school. One of the four aims of 一中 was to nurture:

> 正しく判断し、実践する生徒。
> (Students who judge correctly and put the judgements into effect.)(F2,1:4)

This was followed through the school hierarchy, with one of the overall aims of the second year being to develop 判断力 (*handanryoku*, ability to judge) in students (F2:1,4). Neither Monbusho nor the school analyse exactly how the ability to judge facilitates the development of ways of seeing and thinking. The assumption seems to be that the development of clarity of thought and vision is necessary both to make judgements and to develop ways of seeing and thinking, but this is not made explicit.

The final ability advocated by Monbusho is self-expression. Self-expression brings individual ideas and independent judgement into the public arena. Monbusho documents repeatedly stress the desirability of encouragement of self-expression in schools. This filters through to school level, with teacher research at 一中 aiming to encourage students to be able to express their own opinions clearly (F2:8). In this area, though, there remains a striking difference between the desirable state and reality. In a questionnaire asking students about their attitudes to and behaviour at school, the statement which received the lowest average score of agreement was 自分の意見を積極的に発表します (I express my own opinions enthusiastically)(F3:2,2). The issue was discussed at length by teachers, and the following statement was made to parents:

> 大部分の生徒は、授業に集中し、真剣に取り組むことができた。さらに、授業中は、自分の考えを進んで発言することができるようにすると、実力がつくものと思われる。

> (The majority of students have managed to concentrate and tackle lessons seriously. If, in addition, they could become able to willingly express their own ideas in class, they would acquire greater ability)(F5:3,4)

The disparity between the ideal and reality is perhaps partly due to teaching methods and habits, which do not change as quickly as Monbusho guidelines or teacher research aims (O7: 24). One's own ideas, judgement and self-expression remain, however, key concepts of the 1989 Monbusho reforms, and retain their potential as bases for the development of individual, independent ways of seeing and thinking. The implications of this concept for national and international identities will be taken up in chapter 10.

9.3 Understanding others' ways of thinking and seeing

The previous section was dominated by Monbusho ideas. In contrast, the concern with understanding others' ways of thinking and seeing is apparent at all levels of education, from Monbusho through the school to the students. The fundamental attributes to be developed in the understanding of others' ways of thinking and seeing are empathy and *kejime* (see chapter 5 for discussion and application at earlier stages of education). Once again, these are attributes which cannot be fed into students, but which are developed by each individual student to a greater or lesser extent. Nevertheless, they are attributes which are consciously and carefully nurtured at junior high school, through a long process of learning to see, understand and accept the ways of seeing and thinking of other people.

The first stage in this process is the development of consciousness of the other. Students must be aware that they live in a social world which is full of other people, and that these other people must be taken into consideration in all spheres of life. The development of this realisation is an ongoing process which began at the pre-school stage or earlier (see chapter 5), but it is still important at the junior high school level. It is expressed by 文部省 (*Monbusho*, 1989d:26) in the phrase 相手意識をもたせる (to cause [students] to have consciousness of the other). With this consciousness of the other should come an awareness that there are different ways of seeing and thinking. Again, this is an explicit concern in the Monbusho guidelines, and one of the content areas of the moral education syllabus (文部省 1989e: 30) states that:

> この時期の生徒に対しては、人によっていろいろなものの見方や考え方があることを十分理解させ・・
> (In this period, students should be made to understand well that different people have different ways of seeing things and thinking about things.)

Although the policy is clear at Monbusho level, it is not quite so straightforward at school and student level. As with self-expression and the other ideas outlined in section 9.2, there is a discrepancy between the ideals and the practices, structures and habits of everyday school life. Students are encouraged to understand that there are different ways of seeing and thinking, but at the same time they are being socialised into the concept of 'the right way' to act and think. The right way, epitomised by the omnipresent true/ false tests of factual memorisation, does not often allow for alternative ways of thinking. This is particularly true in the academic sphere of school life, and is apparent to a lesser extent in club activities and other areas.

The ideal, and the reality to a certain extent, assert that students should be conscious of the other and of differences in ways of thinking and seeing. This mental process is complemented by the process of developing consideration and thoughtfulness for the other. As at preschool and elementary school (see sections 5.2 and 5.3), this is a crucial aspect of being a successful junior high school student. 思いやり (*omoiyari*, thoughtfulness) is part of the school aims of 一中 (F2:1,4) and features in teachers' aims for their classes (F1:36). Any perceived lack of thoughtfulness and consideration is quickly and publicly condemned, as the following extract, written by a year head to parents, demonstrates:

> 思いやりに欠ける言動が若干見られた。あだな・身体的な欠点・相手の気持ちを考えない言動が少し見られた。全員が大切な仲間であることを考えさせ、一人一人を大切にする気持ちを育てたい。(We have seen a few words and actions which have shown a lack of consideration. A few incidents of calling nicknames, pointing out physical defects and not thinking of the other person's feelings have been observed. We want to make students think that they are all important friends to each other, and we want to foster a spirit of considering each individual important.) (F5:3,6)

For most students, consciousness of and consideration for the other are already well grounded by the time they enter junior high school. At junior high school, students are reminded of and probably strengthen these aspects of self, but the emphasis in on the next stage of the process. This next step goes beyond an awareness of others' ways of thinking and seeing to an understanding of the same. The leap between the two demands is a huge one. The ability to understand other people's ways of thinking and seeing, or empathy, is considered desirable by Monbusho, school and students. At Monbusho and textbook level, this theme is especially conspicuous in the guidelines for Japanese, and conspicuously absent in the guidelines for foreign languages. In the guidelines for Japanese (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989d: 59), comments such as the following are common:

> 他人の発言を聞いて、自分でもその意見のように考えてみようとしたり・・
> ([students should] listen to other people's comments, and try themselves to think in the way of that opinion..)

This skill is repeatedly practised in students' everyday study of Japanese, as almost every section in the textbook requires students to understand the author's and/or characters' feelings and thoughts. In the Japanese guidelines and textbooks, however, the application of empathy is restricted mainly to the immediate environment. This is not unusual, considering the nature of the subject. However, a survey of guidelines of subjects which do extend their sphere to the international environment reveals that the emphasis on understanding others' ways of thinking and feeling is rarely applied by Monbusho outside the immediate environment. In the guidelines for foreign languages, for instance, there is only one such reference (文部省 1989c: 90), found in a section on how to heighten student interest in language and culture:

> 外国の歴史、伝統、風俗習慣やものの見方などを積極的に学び、そのような文化を持つ人々の心情にふれ、共感的な理解によって相互の立場を尊重し合える態度を育てることである。
> (To enthusiastically learn about foreign history, traditions, customs and habits and ways of seeing, to perceive the feelings of the people who have that kind of culture, and to foster an attitude of being able to mutually respect the other's position through sympathetic understanding.)

Here, Monbusho is clearly advocating empathy in an international context. However, this statement is not preceded or followed by any similar or supporting comments. It stands as an isolated lip-service to an idea that is not followed through in the rest of the foreign language guidelines. For students, however, the application of empathy to the international arena is more important. For example, this student, writing about what is important in international understanding, claims:

> 外人を差別せず相手の気持ちになって考えてあげる。
> (Not to discriminate against foreigners, but to feel how they feel and think that way.) (W1:3)

This statement approaches the next step of the process, which is identification with the other. This is an extension of empathy. In addition to understanding the other's ways of thinking and feeling, students are actually able to, to quote the student above, "feel how they feel", or think how they think. This experience of identification with another person is made explicit in the textbooks. For example, one task set in the second year Japanese textbook asks students to describe an experience when they have felt another person's pain as their own pain (光村図書, *Mitsumura Tosho*, 1996a: 286). For students, too, this is an important aspect of social and emotional junior high school life. One student describes his experience in the baseball club:

> 試合のときに仲間がバッターボックスに立つと自分が打っているかのような気持ちで応援していたり、仲間がボールをとったら、自分がとったような気持ちでみていました。
> (In matches, when my teammates were standing in the batter's box, I supported with the feeling that it was me batting, and when my teammates caught the ball, I watched with the feeling that it was I who had caught it.) (W3:13)

This ability to empathise and identify with another person has significant implications for any identity, including national and international identities, and will reappear in later chapters.

The final step in the process towards understanding and acceptance of the other's ways of thinking and seeing is adaptation of one's own behaviour, speech and attitudes to the other. In part, this incorporates the notion of *kejime*, which was discussed in chapter 5. To summarise, *kejime* is the ability to shift fluidly between *omote* and *ura*, the outer and inner selves, according to the situation. This is undoubtedly important in the adaptation of one's actions and speech to the other, but it is not the only element. Adaptation of self to the other also requires empathy, an understanding of the other's ways of thinking and feeling, which is not necessarily implied by the term *kejime*. This consciousness of and empathy for the other, combined with *kejime*, is a key concept in the development of self at junior high school. Adaptation of ways of speaking and acting is supported by Monbusho and by students. Monbusho, for example, urges the development of speaking and acting according to the time, place and interlocutor (文部省 1989d: 30). Furthermore, by the third year, students should be able to consider not only what is acceptable to say to who, but also what the effects of their words will be on the other, and should adjust their speaking accordingly (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989d: 14):

> ・・表現は本来が相手があっての言語活動である。どのような内容をどんな相手に伝え、その結果どのような反応が起こるかは、表現活動にとっては極めて大切な問題である　したがって、表現内容のほかに、表現の意図や目的、伝達の相手、表現や伝達の行われる場面や環境などを十分に把握し、それに対して適切に対応する諸条件を考える必要がある
> (Expression is a language activity which, naturally, involves an other. An extremely important issue in expressive activities is [understanding] what to communicate to whom, and what the effects will be. Consequently, in addition to the content of the expression, it is necessary [for students] to grasp sufficiently the intention and aims of the expression, the other, the situation and environment of the expression and communication and so on, and to think about how to cope with these conditions appropriately.

Students agree that this is an important skill to develop, as in the following example:

> Words we say for a joke or carelessly are sometimes like knives which hurt others... So we should make conversation with others from the other's viewpoint, and pay more attention to what we say. I think this will make our conversation enjoyable (F7:1,24).

The skill of making conversation from the point of view of the other necessitates empathy as well as *kejime*. The importance of empathy is accentuated still further in the adaptation of attitudes and ways of thinking and feeling towards others. For example, among student guidance aims at 一中 was the development of appropriate attitudes towards other years. Specifically, one of the monthly student guidance aims of 一中 was:

> 先輩は後輩を思いやり、後輩は先輩に感謝の気持ちをもとう。
> (As seniors, let us have feelings of kindness towards our juniors, and as juniors, let us have feelings of gratitude towards our seniors.) (F3: 14)

To achieve this fully, students would need to recognise their own position vis-a-vis the other, develop appropriate feelings towards the other, and exhibit those feelings in a manner appropriate to the situation. The adaptation of one's own attitudes and feelings to the other is by no means a simple process.

The process begins with consciousness of the other, proceeds through recognition that there are different ways of thinking and seeing, through thoughtfulness, through understanding of the other's ways of thinking and seeing, through identification with the other, and ends with adaptation of one's own actions, speech, attitudes and feelings to the other. Naturally, awareness and understanding of the other, and adaptation of self to other, are individual, personal processes. While this is recognised, they are an explicit concern of Monbusho and the school, developed and nurtured through textbook content, club activities and the school environment. This process has implications for the development of international and intercultural identities in several ways. Firstly, the development of attributes such as recognition of different ways of thinking and seeing and empathy is obviously significant for international and intercultural relations. Secondly, the process itself, though not identical, bears striking resemblance to the process of developing international identity described in section 2.2. The major difference is that, in that case, 'the other' was specifically a foreigner, whereas in the process described in this section, 'the other' is usually someone in the immediate environment.

9.4 Knowing and asserting ways of thinking and seeing

In section 9.2, the issues of having one's own thoughts and judgements and being able to express them were discussed. It was noted that the connection of these issues to ways of

thinking and seeing was primarily a Monbusho concern. Section 9.3 turned to the understanding of other people's ways of thinking and seeing, a concern of all levels of education in Japan. Using those two sections as foundation stones, this section builds up the Monbusho view of ways of thinking and seeing in the immediate and wider world. The ideas discussed in this section are almost exclusively those of Monbusho, prominent in national policy documents but rarely featuring at school or student level. They centre on the principle of knowing and asserting one's own ways of thinking and seeing. This requires, first, the ability to establish one's own position and ways of seeing and thinking and, second, the ability to decentre and see those ways of thinking and seeing from the perspective of another.

The ability to establish one's own position and ways of seeing and thinking has its origin in the ideas of thinking, judging and expressing oneself discussed in section 9.2. Being able to have one's own ideas and express them leads to the formation of one's own opinion. In forming one's own opinion, the ideas and ways of thinking of other people are also vital, as is evidenced in this quote, which is taken from the commentary on a passage about encounters and experiences:

> ・・そこから生まれた新しい考えを、これまで自分が抱いていた考えと比べてみよう。すると、両者の違いや新しいところがはっきりし、自分の意見が確かなものになる
> (..try comparing the new ideas which emerge from these [encounters] with the ideas you yourself embraced till now. By doing so, you will clarify the differences and new points, and your own opinion will become a more definite thing.) (光村図書, *Mitsumura Tosho*, 1996b: 59)

This linear process of making explicit one's own and others' ideas, identifying differences, reflecting on the self and strengthening one's own opinion and knowledge of the self is advocated in the textbook for encounters and experiences in the student's immediate world. Interestingly, it is mirrored almost exactly in recommendations for dealing with the international world. In the Monbusho guidelines for foreign languages, there is a section on deepening understanding of world and national ways of life and cultures. This section claims that, through encounters with a foreign language, students gain an understanding of their own and different cultures. This enables them to re-examine their national culture and way of life and to get to know it well (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989c:91).

Through this process of making ideas explicit, identifying differences and knowing oneself (or one's own national culture), an awareness of one's own position in relation to others is created. This is what Monbusho defines as having one's own 立場 (*tachiba*). *Tachiba* literally means a position or viewpoint, and describes the stance of one person

in relation to others or to a particular situation. The importance of grasping and making clear one's own *tachiba* is a frequently repeated refrain in the Monbusho guidelines. The following extract, taken from the guidelines for Japanese (文部省 1989d: 13), explains the significance of this concept:

> 特に今日のように、情報化などの社会の変化が著しい生活環境にあっては、思考の対象となる物事の範囲は拡大していく。その際、重要なことは、自分の立場を明確に把握して物事に対応していくことである。
> (In particular, in a living environment like today's, where society is changing remarkably in areas such as information, the range of things which become the object of thought is expanding. That being the case, the important thing is to clearly grasp one's own *tachiba* in relation to things.)

This is a general statement, which could apply to one's position or viewpoint vis-a-vis the immediate group or society, or vis-a-vis the wider society and world. Monbusho also makes statements which leave teachers and students in little doubt about what their *tachiba* in the wider world should be. In all the discussions of internationalisation in education, the phrase reiterated countless times is that students should take the position of 世界の中の日本人 (a Japanese person in the world). The implications of this *tachiba* in the wider world will be examined in depth in section 10.3. Here, it is sufficient to point out that Monbusho's stress on establishing one's own position and ways of thinking in the immediate world is a key element of their attitude towards internationalisation and the development of students' national and international identity.

Once one's own *tachiba* has been established, Monbusho recommends that students approach situations from the perspective of this *tachiba*. In the immediate world, the meaning of this concept is explained in the guidelines for Japanese (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989d:26):

> 自分の立場を明確に把握して、その立場から問題点をとらえ、それを明確にして考えをはっきりさせるということ..
> ([Students should] grasp their own *tachiba* clearly and approach the issue from that *tachiba*, making the issue precise and their thoughts clear.)

Again, this particular quote relates to one's position and viewpoint in the immediate world, but the idea of approaching issues and situations from one's own *tachiba* reappears in the context of the wider world. For example, the Monbusho guidelines for Social Studies (geography section) (文部省 1989f) emphasise the study of Japan's role in the world and the study of countries which have close links with Japan. Of course, this tendency to teach a nationally-centred world is not limited to Japan, but it does little to discourage an ethnocentric view of the world, or the world seen from a national *tachiba*. Likewise, a chapter in the third year English textbook designed to teach

international understanding features Australian students learning Japanese in Sydney and *sakura* (cherry blossom trees), which were a gift from Tokyo, in Washington. This portrayal of the world from a Japanese *tachiba* can lead to misconceptions on the part of students and teachers, as a conversation with an English teacher on the way to class one day illustrated. We were going to teach this lesson, and the teacher asked me whether we have *sakura* in England. When I replied that we did, he expressed surprise, and quickly added, "Of course, they are a present from Japan." (O7:41). As well as causing misconceptions, the emphasis on approaching situations from one's own *tachiba* seems to be contradictory to the emphasis on empathy and understanding others' ways of seeing and thinking, which was discussed in section 9.3. In the immediate world, Monbusho's emphasis on establishing and maintaining one's own *tachiba* is often seen as a precursor to understanding the other and adapting and developing the self accordingly, as described in chapter 8. In the wider world, one's own *tachiba*, as a Japanese person in the world, is an end in itself. This difference is a significant one, and will reappear in chapters 10 and 11.

Establishing one's own *tachiba*, on the grounds of one's own thoughts, judgements and self-expression, leads to the development of 自分のものの見方や考え方 (one's own way of seeing things and thinking about things). This is a phrase which is often used in the Monbusho documents, and which appears in the discussion of the four main policies of the 1989 reforms (文部省 1989a: 5). It is emphasised in the guidelines for Japanese, where the aims for the first year include the following:

> 話し手や書き手のものの見方や考え方を理解して、その理解に基づき自分の見方や考え方を確かめさせることをねらいとしている。そのためには、話や文章の内容を、叙述の展開に即して素直に理解する能力と態度を身に付けさせた上で、自分自身のものの見方や考え方と対比させるようにすることが大切である。
> (The aim is for students to understand the way of seeing and thinking of the speaker or writer and, based on that understanding, to make certain their own way of seeing and thinking. To do that, in addition to acquiring the skill and attitude of passively understanding the content of the speech or writing in terms of the development of the narration, it is important that students compare this to their own way of seeing and thinking.)

The vital point here is that constructing one's own way of seeing and thinking demands an active mental engagement in the situation, whether that situation is the reading of a text or taking part in a conversation. This notion reflects the ideal attitude of engagement mentioned in chapter 7, and stands in direct contrast to criticisms of the Japanese education system as a system of rote learning and memorisation of facts. Another important point is that this is an aim for first year students. It is not an ultimate ideal, but is a prelude to the second and third year aims of widening, deepening and

changing one's own ways of thinking and seeing (see section 9.5). This is in contrast to Monbusho concepts of ways of seeing and thinking in the wider world. To begin with, when the international context is mentioned in Monbusho documents, the phrase "one's own ways of seeing and thinking" is usurped by the phrase "Japanese ways of seeing and thinking" (e.g. 文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989c: 7). In the same discussion of policies which advocated individual ways of seeing and thinking, the following statement (文部省 1989a:7) appears:

> ・・日本人としての自覚やものの見方、考え方についての基礎を培う・・
> (..to cultivate the basics of self-awareness, the ways of seeing and the ways of thinking of a Japanese person..)

As in the establishing of one's *tachiba* as a Japanese, these ways of seeing and thinking as a Japanese are not a prelude to anything else. In the Monbusho documents relating to junior high school, at least, they are a fixed, final point.

The picture portrayed so far is one of self-assertion, with little flexibility in ways of thinking and seeing, particularly in the wider national and international world. Providing some balance to this rather one-sided image is the Monbusho stress on decentring. Although the term itself does not appear in the policy documents, there is a noticeable endorsement of the ability to look at the self from an outside perspective. For example, in the revision of their own work, students should be taught to examine their own viewpoint as objectively as possible, by revising their own work from the *tachiba* of the reader (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989d: 34). This encouragement to decentre is carried through into the national and international sphere. For example, a section in the geography guidelines (文部省 1989f) and a chapter in the geography textbook (東京書籍, *Tokyo Shoseki*, 1995a) are entitled 世界から見た日本 (Japan seen from the world). The aim of this section, according to 文部省 (*Monbusho* 1989f: 32), is for students to:

> 世界的な視野から我が国の国土の成り立ちや自然、人々の生活の特色を理解させる
> (Understand the particularities of our national geographic structure, nature and people's way of life from a world perspective)

Likewise, in the moral education textbook one passage, which is included under the aim of reinforcing national identity (see chapter 10), describes the beauty of Japanese culture and traditions from the perspective of a foreigner (「明日をひらく」編集委員会, *"Ashita wo hiraku" editing committee*, 1993: 99) . Similar examples of foreigners' views of Japanese life and culture are also found in the Japanese and English textbooks. Such examples could help students to acquire the skill of decentring and seeing their native culture from the outside. On the other hand, they also have potential to reinforce national auto-stereotypes and group consciousness, through their contrast of "Japanese

ways of seeing and thinking" with any other ways of seeing and thinking. Decentring may require more flexibility of ways of seeing and thinking than self-assertion does, but it is still very much self-centred.

9.5 Changing one's own ways of seeing and thinking

The construction of one's own ideas, judgements and ways of seeing and thinking, combined with the understanding of other people's ways of seeing and thinking, also provides the base for the changing and development of one's own ways of seeing and thinking. As mentioned in section 9.4, the process of establishing one's own *tachiba* and ways of seeing and thinking, in the immediate world at least, is seen as a precursor to being able to change those ways of seeing and thinking. In a similar way, decentring, again in the immediate world, facilitates the widening and improvement of one's own ideas. In this section, the focus will be on this process of change.

As described in chapter 8, one of the key elements of self-improvement is considered to be self-reflection or 反省 (*hansei*) (see sections 5.3 and 5.4). This idea is at the root of the process of changing one's ways of seeing and thinking. In reflecting on the self, one needs to be able to clarify one's own thoughts, opinions, *tachiba* and ways of seeing and thinking, and it is in this respect that the ideas expressed in the previous sections of this chapter serve as a prelude to changing one's ways of thinking and seeing. This ability to reflect on one's own ways of thinking and seeing is encouraged throughout junior high school, but is not emphasised until the third year. At this stage, the following expectations are voiced by 文部省 (*Monbusho*, 1989d: 25):

> 自分自身の考えを客観的に見直し、考えをまとめ、それまでの考えを修正したり、新しいものの見方や考え方に触れて、考えを深めるという方向に学習を発展させていくのである。
> (To develop study which will improve students' ability to revise their own thoughts objectively, arrange and amend these thoughts, to experience new ways of seeing and thinking, and to deepen their thoughts.)

These expectations are strengthened through the content of the textbooks. In a passage about encounters with other people and new situations in the third year Japanese textbook, students are advised that such encounters give them a chance to reflect on their way of thinking till that point, and help them to construct their own opinions and aims for a new way of living (*ikikata*). (光村図書, *Mitsumura Tosho*, 1996b: 54)

Self-reflection is thus the basis for changing one's own ways of thinking and seeing, just as it is a basis for all other areas of self-improvement. From this basis, students can assimilate and accommodate new and different ways of thinking and seeing and, in so doing, can widen and deepen their own ways of thinking, seeing and living. This changing of ways of thinking and seeing is advocated by Monbusho, school and students, but in different situations and different spheres of experience.

For Monbusho, the process of changing one's ways of thinking and seeing is frequently discussed, but rarely applied to the wider international world. In the immediate world, Monbusho applauds the adoption by the student of other ways of thinking and seeing. This is made explicit in a section on reading (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989d: 47):

> 話し手や書き手のものの見方や考え方をとらえ自分なりに消化して、自分自身を豊かにするような積極的で主体的な読み方ができるようにする必要がある。
> (It is necessary for students to become able to read in an active, independent way, grasping the speaker's or writer's way of seeing and thinking, and assimilating it into their own, so that they themselves become richer.)

文部省 (*Monbusho* 1989d: 58) also states that students should not only experience and "take in" different kinds of values and ways of thinking, using them to develop their own ways of thinking, but should also create new ways of thinking. The idea of having multiple ways of thinking and seeing is applied only once by Monbusho in the international sphere. In the guidelines for foreign languages, 文部省 (*Monbusho* 1989c: 91) states that:

> ・・広く外国の人々の生活や文化を知ることによって、我が国の生活や文化にないものやすぐれたものを知り、多様なものの見方、考え方ができるようになる・・
> (..Through a wide knowledge of foreign people and cultures, to know the things we lack and the things which are superior in our national lifestyle and culture, and to become able to have diverse ways of seeing and thinking..)

This kind of Monbusho approval of diverse ways of thinking and seeing in an international context is rare, and appears to contradict the more common principle of the Japanese way of seeing and thinking in the world. Nevertheless, it does exist.

At the school and student level, there is a similar concern with changing ways of thinking and seeing, although the discussion is not often as explicit as at Monbusho level. Supplementary materials used in class often strengthen the link between changes of ways of thinking and seeing and the self-training discussed in chapter 8. For example, the central theme of a text used in a class activities lesson at 一中 was that, even if one

cannot change the disliked things one has to do, one can change one's way of thinking and feeling so that one comes to like doing that thing. Once the individual has trained him/herself to like the thing, it will be much easier to get through, and the individual will have become a better person (T10). In this example, it is clear how the process of changing one's own ways of thinking and seeing is firmly rooted in the principles and ideals outlined in chapters 7 and 8, specifically the ideals of self-training to become a better person. Students also make this connection between self-improvement and changing ways of thinking and seeing. In an essay written for an English speech contest, one student describes her experience of changing her way of thinking about sameness and difference, and contrasts her previous fixed way of thinking to her new, more flexible way of thinking (F7:2,30). The most noticeable feature of student attitudes to changing their ways of seeing and thinking, however, is the frequency of their application of the process to the international sphere. This contrasts with the normal Monbusho limitation of this concept to the students' immediate environment. The following comments, written by students in different schools, are representative of many student opinions on self in the international world:

> I realized that I have to open my mind to the world. (F7:2,17)

> Sad to say, our understanding of international culture is much more limited than that of our Chinese counterparts... We should open our eyes wider. (F7:1,19)

The first of these two comments was written in reaction to a passage in a textbook and the second following a community-organised visit to China, which included a day spent with Chinese junior high school students. The trigger may be different but the common point is the students' realisation of the need to change their ways of thinking ("I have to open my mind") or of seeing ("we should open our eyes"). This theme of changing ways of seeing and thinking in reaction to the international sphere will be taken up again in section 10.5.

In the immediate world, then, Monbusho, school and students all endorse the changing of ways of seeing and thinking, based on self-reflection and an explicit mental process of comparison between and judgement of new and existing ways of seeing and thinking. In the wider world, the national and international sphere, agreement between the various levels of education is not so clear-cut. Monbusho rarely applies these concepts of changing one's ways of seeing and thinking in an international context. Student ideas are more difficult to generalise but, for many students, the concepts appearing in this section form the basis of international identity. This argument will be expanded in chapters 10 and 11.

9.6 Summary

This chapter has examined the processes of students constructing, developing and changing their individual ways of thinking and seeing, from the viewpoints of Monbusho, school and students. Certain ideas regarding this process are shared by all three levels. For the most part, these are the basic ideas which are rooted in the principles discussed in chapters 7 and 8. Notably, the very idea that it is possible and desirable to change one's own ways of seeing and thinking has its foundations in the ideas examined in chapter 8. Also, the belief that changing one's ways of thinking and seeing leads to self-improvement and the creation of self as a better human being is based in the ideals laid out in chapter 7. Although some of the most basic ideas about the possibility, necessity and desirability of changing one's ways of thinking and seeing are shared by Monbusho, school and students, it is at this stage that many divergences begin to emerge.

For Monbusho, the construction and changing of one's own ways of thinking and seeing is primarily a mental process, which takes different forms in its application to the immediate world of the student and the wider world, including the national and international spheres. In the immediate world, the process is made particularly explicit in the guidelines for Japanese. It begins with the mental abilities of being able to have one's own thoughts, make independent judgements and express both thoughts and judgements. These abilities facilitate the development of one's own *tachiba*. Combined with an ability to decentre, and an understanding of other people's ways of thinking and seeing, this *tachiba* forms the basis of one's own individual ways of thinking and seeing. The next step is the cyclical process of reflection and revision of one's own and others' ways of thinking and seeing, resulting in continuous widening, deepening and changing of ways of seeing and thinking. Monbusho's conception of ways of thinking and seeing in the wider world seems to be somewhat different. Once again, there is an emphasis on thinking and self-expression, establishing a *tachiba* and being able to decentre. The notion of 自分の見方や考え方 (one's own ways of thinking and seeing) and one's own *tachiba* disappear, however, usurped by the phrases 日本人の見方や考え方 (a Japanese person's ways of thinking and seeing) and 世界の中の日本人 (a Japanese person in the world). At this level, for Monbusho, national identity seems to take precedence over personal identity. Moreover, whereas in the immediate world one's *tachiba* was preparatory to being able to reflect, change and create new ways of thinking and seeing, in the wider world it seems to be the final stance. In the national policy documents, references to changing and creating new ways of thinking and seeing in the international sphere are sparse.

For many students, the situation is different. Firstly, it should be made clear that there is a wide range of difference between individual students in ways of thinking and seeing. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the construction and changing of ways of thinking, seeing and feeling are essentially personal, individual processes, and it is impossible to make generalisations which apply to all students. Nevertheless, for many students, the issue of ways of thinking and seeing is not purely mental, but also emotional and social. The other major difference is that students do not seem to distinguish between the immediate and wider world as Monbusho does, but apply the same processes of developing ways of thinking and seeing to both spheres. Like Monbusho, students recognise the importance of having their own ideas and judgements and expressing them, but they do not seem to lay as much emphasis as Monbusho does on these mental abilities. For students, the aspects of understanding other people's ways of seeing and thinking, empathy and identification with the other seem to be more significant. These aspects are advocated by students in the immediate environment and in the international arena. Self-assertion, the establishment of one's own *tachiba*, is de-emphasised by students. Instead, changing one's own ways of seeing and thinking is done primarily on the basis of empathy and understanding of other people's ways of seeing and thinking. In the international sphere, in contrast to Monbusho, individual identity still seems to take precedence over national identity for students, and the necessity of continued change of individual ways of thinking and seeing is recognised.

Already, then, in the very process of constructing and changing one's ways of thinking and seeing in the world, there are significant differences emerging between Monbusho and many students. The next two chapters will turn to the manifestations of this process, that is, the actions, attitudes and ideas expressed by students, teachers and Monbusho. The focus in the following two chapters will be on ways of seeing and thinking about the self in the group, and ways of seeing and thinking about human relations. These two specific applications of ways of thinking and seeing form the basis of students' construction of national, international, global and cultural identities.

Chapter 10

The belonging self

In this chapter, the focus turns to identities in the nation and the world. The concepts of self which will be discussed in this chapter are rooted in basic ideas of self in society (see chapters 7 and 8) and fundamental ways of thinking, seeing and feeling (see chapter 9).

For Monbusho and for schools, the development of social identities is an important concern. The notion of self in the group forms one of the four main content areas of Monbusho's moral education guidelines, entitled 集団や社会とのかかわりに関すること (matters concerning the relationship with the group and society). This area includes sections dealing with family, school, community, national and international spheres (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989e:34-42). This does not necessarily mean that the stereotyped theories of Japanese groupness sketched in chapter 4 should automatically be assumed to be true. Such theories suggest that the self is subjugated to the group, and that the group is the dominant unit of society. The data I collected in schools suggest that this is not necessarily an accurate interpretation, as a more complex relation exists between the individual and the group. This relationship between the individual and the group has relevance for immediate (class, school etc.) and more distant (nation, world etc.) groups and societies.

The first section of this chapter will, accordingly, be devoted to an exploration of the relationship between the individual and the group in the immediate environment. The following four sections will extend the threads of this relationship to deal with Monbusho and student interpretations of self in the nation and the world respectively. The final section will summarise the divergence which emerges between Monbusho and students, and will relate the various interpretations to earlier theory sections.

10.1 The self and the group

This section will examine notions of self and the immediate group as they appear at 一中 and in relevant Monbusho documents and textbooks. The discussion will be organised under the following four themes:

- the relationship of self and the group
- the expectations of individuals vis-a-vis the group
- the expectations of the group vis-a-vis the individual
- significant characteristics of groups in junior high school

The relationship of self to the group was introduced in chapter 5. Whether it be in the immediate or distant world, this is a relationship which may not be familiar in many Western ways of thinking. As a result, direct translation of Japanese terms into English can be misleading. 個人 (*kojin*) is usually translated as "individual", while 個性 (*kosei*) is rendered as "individuality". These translations are not inaccurate, but they add a shade of meaning which is not automatically present in Japanese. This is the notion that being individual means being different from other people. In Japanese, this aspect of individuality is usually translated not by the terms 個人 or 個性, but by the use of alternative terms such as 独特 (*dokutoku* - lit. unique, peculiar to) or 特有 (*tokuyuu* - lit. peculiar to, marked). The distinction is slight, but significant in the discussion which follows, so the Japanese terms will be used in preference to their English equivalents, where applicable. Where the English term "individual" is used, its Japanese meaning should be borne in mind.

Kojin and *kosei* do not imply any sense of separation from the group. This point is emphasised by a teacher who was advising his students to consider themselves important. He warns (D10:9) that:

> 「自分を大切にする」とは自己中心に生きることではありません。集団の中での自分の意見や考えを大切にし、自分の命や健康を大切にすることです
> ("Making yourself important" does not mean living egocentrically. It means considering your own opinions and thoughts important in the group, and making your own life and health important.)

Far from implying any notion of distance or difference from the group, the idea of individuality Japanese-style is centred in the group. This notion of individuality is closely connected to the ideas developed in chapter 9, particularly the emphasis on one's own ideas and self-expression. Indeed, 文部省 (*Monbusho*, 1989a: 5) claims that having one's own way of seeing things and thinking about things is an essential element of *kosei*. Teachers at 一中 support this view, stating the following aim in discussion of how to extend children's *kosei*:

> 積極的に授業に参加して個性的な自分の意見をはっきりと表現できる生徒の育成を目指し・・
> (To aim for the development of students who take part enthusiastically in class, managing to clearly express their own individual opinions.)(F2:8)

As in the example above, *kosei* is developed within the context of active, engaged participation in the group. There is no sense of conflict between the individual and the group, but rather the sense that the two form a symbiotic relationship. This is further emphasised in the general aim for Special Activities (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989g: 8),

which states that students should develop a balanced *kosei* through group activities and as a member of a group.

This idea of the individual being nurtured in and by the group is frequently used by teachers in interactions with students. A message of encouragement from a class teacher to his students (F1:31) was dominated by the slogan 個は集団の中で育つ (the individual grows up in the group). Similarly, a newsletter from a year head to students contained the following words:

> 「良い集団が個人を高める」と言われます。良い集団の中では、一人一人が大きく伸びることができます。
> (It is said that, "the good group heightens the individual". In a good group, each individual is able to greatly extend him/herself.) (F1:37)

It seems, then, that *kosei* is interpreted as the ability to think and act independently and have one's own ways of thinking and seeing within the group. However, these opinions and thoughts do not necessarily have to be unique or different to other people's, although the encouragement of *kosei* within the group naturally allows for individual difference. This symbiotic relationship of *kosei* and group, if properly developed, makes demands and reaps benefits on both sides.

Kosei does not suggest any flouting of the ideas of the right way or right attitudes described in chapter 7, but is developed within these structures. As may be expected, there is "a right way" to be an individual in a Japanese group. This right way comprises several elements, significant among which are the following:

- self-awareness
- roles and responsibilities
- commitment
- emotional attachment
- improvement

The first of these elements, self-awareness, is reminiscent of the basic ideas of self discussed in chapter 8. The desirability of self-awareness in the group is repeatedly stressed in a variety of contexts, and at all levels of education. At student level, for example, one of the aims of the student 'Daily Life Committee' was to have self-awareness and pride as a committee member. At school level, the stated aim of teachers for first-year students was for them to acquire self-awareness as a junior high school student (F3:16,1). At Monbusho level, aims for moral education advocate student self-awareness as members of their school and class (文部省 1989e:39) and as a member of

the community (ibid p.40). The first task of the individual, then, according to all levels of education, is to have self-awareness as a member of the group in question.

To be a successful individual in the group, each student must also accept his/her responsibility and role within that group (see chapter 5). As is the case with self-awareness, this is an aspect of the relationship between *kosei* and group which is emphasised by Monbusho, school and students alike. At the Monbusho level, it is concisely summarised by the following quote, which is taken from the guidelines for Special Activities (文部省 1989g:11):

> 生徒個人は、様々な集団の一員として生活しているが、この中で各自の果たす役割は何か、また自分はどのような責任を果たさなければならないかを自覚することは、集団全体の発展にとっても、個人の成長発達にとっても大切なことである。
> (Each individual student lives as a member of various groups and, for the improvement of the group as a whole and for the growth and development of the individual *(kojin)*, it is important that students have self-awareness of what their individual role is and what kind of responsibility they have to take in the group.)

This emphasis on the importance of assuming individual responsibility and role within the group is reiterated in the Monbusho guidelines for Physical Education (文部省 1989b:78) and Moral Education (文部省 1989e:34). It is then reinforced by teachers at school level, not only in the academic curriculum, but also in other areas. For example, one of the main aims of the third year school trip to Tokyo was for students to realise their role within the group and carry out this role in practice (F3:15,17). The school's sphere of influence is not limited to school groups. Part of the curriculum for home economics includes teaching students about their role in the family (F2:16), and this is a theme also taken up in Moral Education (D5:119). The school also takes practical measures to ensure that students recognise their role and responsibility in the community, with organised community service sessions such as weeding, and cleaning post-boxes (F1:1,3 & F1:27). The school's remit, then, includes teaching the right way to be an individual not only in school groups, but also in the other immediate groups to which the student belongs. At student level, one of the main functions of student committees (see section 7.3) is to provide each student with a role in the organisation of the school. Add to this positions of responsibility in the class (当番, *touban*; 班長, *hanchou*; 副班長, *fukuhanchou*), which occupy about one third of each class at any one time, and club activity committees, and it is clear that student opportunities to take on individual roles and responsibility are numerous. An illustration of how students take on these roles is provided by one girl's account of the school chorus contest. She was to accompany the class on the piano, but found the music difficult to play. She describes her sense of individual responsibility for the success or failure of the class, adding at one

point that, "I felt I had let the whole class down" (F7:2,11). She then attributes her eventual mastery of the music not to her own ability or efforts but to the support of her classmates.

Closely related to assumption of roles and responsibilities in the group is the notion of commitment to the group. Commitment is proved by participation and by mere presence in the group. Although participation in school trips is not officially compulsory, it would be unthinkable for individual students not to join the group (F3:15,8), unless it is for reasons of serious illness or mishap. One student description of a school trip (D10:31) indicates the importance attached to participation in such events. The following account is written by a boy who had been in hospital until two days before the school trip with a broken leg, and who was not able to walk alone:

> ００では同じ班の人に助けられたり、００寺ではみんなが車いすを探して、押してくれました。それに００寺では００先生におんぶしてもらって見学してまわりました
> (At XX, I was helped by the people in my *han*, and at XX temple, everyone looked for a wheelchair for me and pushed me round. Then at XX temple, [my class teacher] carried me on his back while we looked around.)

Even though it was hard work for the rest of the group, and not an easy day for the student concerned, the difficulties of the situation were outweighed by the importance attached to the individual student's participation in this event, which included among its aims the development of class and year unity.

School trips are annual events, intended to promote class and year-group unity, but commitment is also expected in everyday school life. This is especially true in club activities. Students are expected to give up a large proportion of their free time (after school, weekends and holidays) to practise club activities. This expectation of individual commitment to the club gives rise to comments such as the following, which appears in a student-written class newsletter just before the summer holidays (F1:42):

> でも夏休みといっても、部活などでなかなか出られないという人もいるでしょう。・・暑さに負けずがんばりましょう。
> (Even though it's the summer holidays, some of us won't get to go out at all because of club activities and so on. Let's not be beaten by the heat, but persevere.)

As this quote illustrates, the notion of commitment in the group situation often entails perseverance and hardship. There is considerable overlap and intertwining of values and attitudes expected of the basic individual (see sections 7.4 and 8.2) and those expected of the individual as a member of a group. In school, in the family and in the community, the student is a member of a group. As individual and group are

complementary rather than conflictual, the distinction between the individual as a single unit and the individual as part of a group is not a clearly defined or necessary one.

Individual self-awareness, responsibility and commitment in the group are further supplemented by a personal emotional attachment to the group. Emotional attachment to the group is considered desirable by all levels of Japanese education (see sections 3.5, 5.2 and 5.3). Monbusho's guidelines on moral education (文部省 1989e) state that students should respect and love the members of their family group and the members of their school groups (including teachers). They should also respect and be thankful towards their predecessors and the old people in their community. The development of an emotional attachment to school groups is evident in junior high school. Students' reflections on their three years of club activities often recall the sadness and tears when leaving the club, as well as the hardship and pain they went through in the club (W3).

The final contribution made by the student to the group is in the improvement of the group. As was explained in section 8.2, improvement of the group is synonymous with self-improvement (see also section 3.3). This concept, that improvement of the self will lead to improvement of the group, is further evidence for the relationship of self and group described in this section. At school level, the Student Council provides a good example of how this concept is interpreted by Monbusho, school and students. Every student in the school automatically belongs to the Student Council, and the various school committees are branches of the Student Council. The Student Council is the focus of school identity, in that it is through Student Council structures and functions that roles, responsibility, self-awareness and commitment in the school are exhibited. 文部省 (*Monbusho*, 1989g:51) defines the role of the Student Council:

> ・・学校の全生徒をもって組織する生徒会において、学校生活の充実や改善向
> を図る・・
> (As an organisation made up of all the students in the school, the Student Council should aim for the improvement and enrichment of school life..)

As all the students belong to the Student Council, all the students are responsible for the improvement of their own school life. This is a theme which recurs in the school. At 一中, the aim of the Student Council was:

> 自覚を持って、より良い学校作りを目指す。
> (To have self-awareness and to aim to create an even better school.)
> (F1:7)

In practice, this principle manifested itself in the incident of the change of school rules, which was described in chapter 8. The entire process of changing the school rules, from the build-up of pressure through the questionnaires and meetings to the final

implementation, was administrated through the Student Council. Throughout the process, the emphasis was on students' individual opinions and individual responsibility in contributing to the improvement of the school group. For example, one questionnaire asked each student to write how s/he, as an individual, would respond to the proposed rule changes. The following comment was a typical response:

> まずは自分が先にきまりを守って、みんなに声をかける。
> (First, I myself would keep the rules, then I'd tell everyone else to.)
> (F1:18)

Even when the improvement is to the structure of the group, then, the emphasis is still on the individual to improve him/herself as a contributing member of that group.

One of the aims appearing in the Monbusho guidelines for Moral Education (文部省 1989e:34) neatly summarises all the points above, epitomising 'the right way' to be a member of a group:

> 自己が属する様々な集団の意義についての理解を深め、役割と責任を自覚し、協力しあって集団生活の向上に努める。
> (To deepen understanding of the significance of the various groups to which the self belongs, to have self-awareness of one's role and responsibility and, co-operating with others, to strive for the improvement of life as a group.)

The relationship between the individual and the group is not one-sided. Although the demands of group membership on the individual are high, the group also offers many benefits for the individual (see section 4.2). Among these benefits are the following:

- status
- protection
- discipline
- responsibility.

The status offered by the group to the individual is closely linked to the establishment of the boundaries of the group, and will be treated at the end of this section. Protection means the support or shielding of one of the group members. This is considered right by students and teachers, as the following extract from a student essay (F5:3,8) demonstrates:

> 授業中何かは、一人が分からないと、回りの人やそれ以外の友達が教えてくれるのです。
> (In lessons and so on, if one person doesn't know something, the people sitting nearby and friends in the class tell him/her the answer.)

As this essay was published by teachers to be read by parents, it seems that this protective kind of behaviour is approved of by teachers as well as students. Indeed, in teaching and observation of lessons, it was noticeable how often classmates, particularly the *han*, would support and encourage an individual student who was evidently academically or socially less competent than his/her peers. This kind of behaviour was explicitly encouraged by teachers, who would ask classmates to help a student who did not know the answer to a question rather than simply asking another student to answer.

The group also provides its individual members with a certain standard of order and discipline. Just as improvement of the group and self-improvement are interrelated, so discipline of the group and self-discipline are mutually necessary. Through willingly conforming to the tight order and discipline of the group, the individual becomes able to discipline and control him/herself. As observed in chapters 7 and 8, the structures of the group and the acceptance of the concept of the right way and right attitudes provide a framework upon which the student can build and create him/herself (see section 3.3). Various aspects of school life contribute to this framework of order and discipline. 文部省 (*Monbusho* 1989a:34) identifies experiences such as school trips and community work as exercises in the acquisition of the rules of group life. At the school group level, discipline is provided not only by the structures and habits of the school system, but also by an explicit and detailed set of school rules. At 一中, ten pages of rules are printed in a pocket diary which every student is obliged to carry at all times (D14). As well as uniform, courtesy, punctuality, equipment and other matters relating to conduct and attitude in school, these rules also extend to student behaviour outside school. Examples of these rules include the following:

> 外出の際は、一中生としての自覚を持って行動する。
> (When going out, to have self-awareness as a student of 一中 and to behave accordingly) (*D14:13*)

Furthermore, on days when students do not attend school, the rules state that they should:

> 計画をたて、規則正しい生活をする。
> (Draw up plans, and live in a properly regulated way.) (ibid)

Throughout the rules and discipline of the school, as in these two examples, there is an emphasis on students disciplining themselves by behaving appropriately or regulating their lives. In this way, the group serves the dual functions of providing discipline and encouraging discipline.

Finally, the group also serves a function for the individual in its assumption of responsibility for its members. As indicated above in the school rules, the responsibility of the school group extends well beyond the gates of the school. As well as

responsibility for student safety outside school (F3:15,34), the school is expected to give guidelines for student behaviour in the school holidays. One such set of guidelines, sent to parents of students at 一中 just before the winter holidays, contained the following points:

> 保護者のいない所でのクリスマス会、新年会は行わせない。
> 飲酒・喫煙をさせない。
> 塾以外では、午後６時までに帰宅する。
> (Do not let them have Christmas parties or New Year parties in the absence of a parent or guardian.
> Do not let them drink alcohol or smoke.
> Apart from *juku*, they should return home by 6p.m.) (F3:11)

This kind of advice would probably be interpreted as intrusion in family life in the UK and many other countries, but at 一中, at least, it was considered to be a natural part of the school's responsibility for the student. Similarly, teacher patrols and a curfew at the autumn town festival were considered to be a responsibility of the school towards the students, even though the festival was a community, not a school, event (*F3:7*). The most striking example of the school's responsibility for its individual members, however, emerged in the case of some students who were found to have been shoplifting and stealing bikes over an extended period. Most of the incidents had occurred in the summer holidays, but it was still the school's responsibility to investigate the matter and deal with it (F3:7).

The image of the group which emerges, then, is of a body which protects, disciplines and takes responsibility for the individual. The group does place limits on the individual, for the individual's own safety and well-being. In return, the individual should become aware of the self in the group, and should gradually take over the roles of discipline of and responsibility for the self. In this way the group, and the individual within the group, are in no conflict but are working together towards the common aim of improvement.

The last part of this section will turn to the characteristics of the group. Naturally, each group has its own character and characteristics, but here I would like to examine some of the characteristics common to many of the groups to which the junior high school student belongs. In brief, some of the shared characteristics most relevant to the following discussion of national and international groups are:

- unity
- equality
- boundaries

Unity of the group is stressed equally in class, school and club activity groups. This group unity is considered to be a source of pride for many students, as the following quote, written by a student about her class, illustrates:

> １つだけ自慢できることがあります。それは、団結力があることです。
> (There is just one thing we can be proud of. That is our strength of unity.) (F5:8)

This strength of unity is not incidental as a characteristic of the group, but is consciously planned and developed. To use the class group as an example, it is significant that students spend almost all their school day with the class. Only P.E. (where boys and girls are taught separately) and up to two classes a week of options are taught in a different group (F8:1). Moreover, there is no differential teaching within the class, with the result that all members of the class study the same material at the same time. This sense of unity is preserved until students leave school. Although students are clearly differentiated according to academic ability at the point of high school entrance exams, these exams do not take place until after the junior high school graduation ceremony. Thus, unity of the class is maintained until the very last day of school, with the differentiation (and division) procedure taking place when the students are no longer officially junior high school students (F3:14,10).

Other measures are also used to promote the sense of unity as a group. One such measure is the use of group aims. As explained in section 7.3, aims are frequently used in Japanese schools to make explicit 'the right way' of acting or thinking, and to provide a goal for self-improvement. In the group context, aims serve the same purposes, but also provide a focus for group unity. If all individual members of the group are working towards the same aims of self-improvement and the right way to be, the result is likely to be a sense of unity and common purpose. This idea is expressed by a student in relation to club activities, when he remarks (W3:8) that:

> みんなが一つの目標に向かってがんばるときの団結力はすごいと思いました
> (I thought the strength of unity when everyone was trying together, working towards a single aim, was great.)

Even more important than group aims, however, is the experience of doing things together, as a group. As well as everyday life in the class and club groups, regular school events have the specific purpose of developing class and school unity. For example, a student describes the annual school festival (F1:16) as:

> クラスが団結して数々のイベントで競い合ったりして、学校全体をつくり、盛り上げていく楽しい行動です。

(An enjoyable event where the class unites and competes in a number of events, putting in enthusiasm and creating the school as a whole.)

Teachers share a similar view of the school festival as a vehicle for strengthening class unity, with one teacher informing his class that:

> 合唱も集団のパワーが必要とされます。全員が一丸となって取り組ませたいと思います。
> (Group power is also necessary for the chorus. I would like all the members [of the class] to become a single circle, and to try hard.) (F1:31)

The next characteristic of many school groups is the equality between members of that group. The exception is in cross-year groups, where juniors are expected to respect their seniors and seniors to set an example to juniors. In peer groups, however, there is a great emphasis on equality, as illustrated above by the high school entrance exam procedures. As mentioned above, classes are not differentiated by academic ability. On the contrary, students are reorganised into different classes at the end of the first year to ensure an equal spread of academic and other abilities. One teacher explained the procedure for rearranging classes at 一中 (O7:4):

> A-sensei explained that 1st to 2nd year are rearranged to ensure equality. Problem students (e.g. those who don't attend school) are divided between classes, as are 'leaders'. Then students are split according to academic ability, their position relative to other students in the year: 1 2 3 4 5 6 ... then back again etc. to end.

Some slight adjustments to this procedure are allowed to ensure that there is at least one student in each class who can play the piano for the chorus contest, and to guarantee that sports abilities of each class are relatively balanced. Not only is inequality discouraged, but equality is positively planned and encouraged.

Equality does not mean conformity. As illustrated above in the class rearrangement procedures, individual abilities in academic ability, sports and musical abilities, character and so on are recognised and accepted. Individual achievements are also recognised and encouraged. Equality within the group does not mean that such individual abilities or achievements are suppressed, but that they are shared by the group as a whole. This is an idea subscribed to by school and students. At the school level, the occasion when one student from 一中 won the prefectural speech contest (which had attracted over 18,000 entries) prompted the following message from the school to students and parents:

> ００さんの努力はもちろんですが、００一中生全員がかかわった「愛のポチェット運動」も大きな力になっていることがわかります。全校生みんなで喜びたいものです。

> (Of course, it's a result of [student's name]'s effort, but we can also see the great strength of the "Parcels of Love" exercise, in which all the students of 一中 were involved. It's something that every student in the school should be pleased with.) (F1:31)

The content of the student's speech concerned a project by the Student Council to send aid packages to Cambodia (see section 11.3 for details). This was the point chosen for emphasis by the school, as it enabled the entire school to share in the success of one of its members. The same theme reappears in student accounts of club activities. In most clubs, only a minority of the members actually play matches with other schools as regulars. However, the role of the other club members as supporters is stressed as equally important in the team's success or failure. So it is that in inter-school competitions all club members, not only the competitors, go to the event. The equal roles of star players and supporters are emphasised by this member of the basketball club:

> ・・バスケはコートにいる５人も大切だけど第６の人がとっても大切と先生は言った　ベンチやギャラリーで応えんしている人みんなが第６の選手だと
> (Our teacher said that the 5 people on the basketball court are important, but that the 6th person is very important. The 6th competitor is all the people supporting on the bench or in the gallery) (W3:11)

As well as unity and equality, another characteristic of the group is that it establishes boundaries of inside and outside, belonging and not belonging (see section 4.2, chapter 5). In so doing, it provides status to the inside members. For example, students at 一中 were frequently reminded that they should have self-awareness and behave as a member of their school. This is particularly relevant in interactions with other schools or outside parties. Instructions to students before an inter-school sports contest include the following reminder (F4:4):

> 一中生の代表として出場しているという自覚を忘れないこと。
> （一人一人の行動が、一中は良い、悪いと見られます。
> (Self-awareness as a representative of 一中 at the competition should not be forgotten. (Whether 一中 is a good or bad school will be judged by each individual student's behaviour.))

Here, the emphasis is on each individual's responsibility as a member of the group in the group's interactions with other groups. Group support for its individuals is also especially pronounced when the group comes into contact with outsiders. At 一中, as at other schools, the inter-school sports competitions are preceded by a 壮行会 (*soukoukai*) or sending-off ceremony. At these ceremonies, the competitors, wearing their school team uniforms and surrounded by all the other students of the school, line up in front of the school flag to be sent off by the chants of the "supporters' committee" and speeches from other students and teachers (F1:1,3). Symbols such as the school

flag, uniforms and chants mark boundaries between 一中 and other schools, and encourage unity and identification with the school group.

Throughout this section, the relationship of self and group has been emphasised as a symbiotic one. The individual is nurtured within the context of a unified, equal group, providing a framework of discipline and assuming responsibility for the individual. Although group members are unified and equal, they are not identical. Individual abilities, individual effort and individual character are encouraged, but within the context of the group rather than in opposition to the group. The individual's *kosei*, developed through his/her self-awareness, commitment, role and responsibility within the group, contributes simultaneously to the improvement of self and to the improvement of the group. The interpretations of self and group developed in this section are based on data relating to self in the immediate groups of the class, club and school. The next two sections will link the ideas in this section to the construction of self in the national and international spheres.

10.2 Self in the nation - the Monbusho view

This section will broadly follow the structure of section 10.1, but will concentrate on Monbusho's interpretations of junior high school students' construction of self in the nation. A description of the basic relationship between self and the group will be followed by sections dealing with expectations of the individual vis-a-vis the group and the group vis-a-vis the individual. Finally, some characteristics of the national group will be examined.

The basic relationship between the individual and the national group portrayed in Monbusho documents mirrors the relationship described in section 10.1 of the individual and the immediate group. The development of the individual seems to be considered as synonymous with the development of a national citizen, as the following quote from the guidelines on moral education (文部省 1989e:41) clearly states:

> 生徒たちは、日本において生をうけ、これまでに育まれてきた。
> そのことを考えるならば、自分というものを知るために、まず、
> 自分の国のこと、自分の国のあゆみを知ることが必要となる。
> (The students were born and have been brought up in Japan. Thinking in that way, in order to know themselves, it is necessary first for them to know about their own country and their own country's course of history.)

With its flagrant (and false) assumptions that all junior high school students were born and brought up in Japan, this statement is reminiscent of the *nihonjinron* theories of homogeneity discussed in chapter 4. This assumption courses through the Monbusho guidelines. The result is that students have no option to develop as anything other than a national citizen, as there are no alternatives to this category in the Monbusho documents (with a single exception to be commented upon later in this section). So it is that the second of the four main policies of the 1989 Monbusho reforms (文部省 1989a:5) begins:

> 国民として必要とされる基礎的・基本的な内容を重視し、個性を生かす教育を充実する・・
> (To attach great importance to the basic and fundamental content necessary for a national citizen, enriching education which promotes *kosei*.)

As in the immediate group, development as a member of the group (a national citizen) and as an individual (*kosei*) are not conflictual, but are complementary and even synonymous. Moreover, the notion that this development of the individual as a national citizen is appropriate for school education is beyond question (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989a: 4):

> 学校教育は、人間としての調和のとれた発達を目指し、心身ともに健全な国民の育成を期して行われなければならないことは言うまでもない
> (It goes without saying that school education should aim for the development of balanced human beings (*ningen*), and should ensure the upbringing of a national people with sound bodies and minds.)

For Monbusho, then, there is a high level of consistency between the development of self in the immediate group and the development of self in the national group. In both cases, participation of the individual in the group is assumed, and the development of self and the group are synonymous. The relationship between self and the national group is reciprocal (self contributing to the group, group to the self) but, at the same time, both 'sides' are striving towards the same goal, which is the simultaneous improvement of the individual and the group. In so doing, the two 'sides' of the reciprocal relationship merge into one body. The symbiotic nature of the relationship is as apparent at national level as it is at the immediate level (see section 10.1). The consistency of the relationship between self and the immediate and national groups forms the basis for the following discussion of the expectations and characteristics of self in the national group.

The expectations held by Monbusho of the individual vis-a-vis the national group mirror those in the immediate group. As in the class, school, family and community groups, self-awareness is a key element of being an individual in the nation. This idea is

promoted in the Monbusho guidelines for Special Activities (文部省 1989g: 4), which make the point that:

> ・・集団や社会の一員としての生き方の自覚は、それぞれの個人の身近な集団や地球社会の一員としての自覚にとどまらず、更に広い視野に立って、自分が生まれ育った日本という国に対する愛着や日本人の一人としての自覚にまで広げられねばならない。
> (Self-awareness of the way of living as a member of the group or society should not be limited to self-awareness as a member of the various groups close to the individual or to the local community, but should extend to self-awareness as one of the Japanese people and attachment to Japan, the country of one's birth and upbringing.)

Here, self-awareness as a Japanese person is seen as a direct continuation of self-awareness as a member of the school or local community. This emphasis on self-awareness as a member of the national group is reiterated throughout the Monbusho documents, and is necessary as a foundation for the other expectations of the individual.

In the immediate group, Monbusho advocated the assumption of individual roles and responsibilities. In the national group, the same theme is repeated. Students are urged to take on individual responsibility within the national group. For example, the general aim of Social Studies (encompassing geography, history and civic education) stresses the individual's role in the creation and continuation of national society (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989f: 15):

> ・・公民としての基礎的教養を培い、国際社会に生きる民主的、平和的な国家・社会の形成者として必要な公民的資質の基礎を養う
> (To cultivate the basic culture of a citizen, and to nurture the basic qualities of citizenship necessary for the creator of a democratic, peaceful nation and society living in an international society.)

Here, the onus is on each individual to acquire "the basic qualities of citizenship", although details of exactly what this means are not clarified. By acquiring these basic qualities, the student takes on the role and responsibility of contributing to the construction of the nation. Monbusho's comments on taking individual responsibility in the nation are not restricted to the social studies curriculum. In Japanese, too, students are encouraged to be aware of the responsibility they have to learn the national language. 国語 (*kokugo*) is the term used for the subject, and it literally means "national language". The same language, when studied by foreigners, becomes 日本語 (*nihongo*, Japanese language). This distinction emphasises the national characteristics of the language studied in school, and automatically draws boundaries between Japanese and non-Japanese in the study of the same language. The Monbusho guidelines for 国語 (文部省 1989d: 8) further heighten the national elements of language study:

・・一国の言語生活の豊かさは、国民一人一人のもつ言語感覚の程度によって評価されることも少なくない。
(It is not infrequent that the richness of the linguistic life of an entire nation is evaluated by the level of the sense of language of each individual national citizen.)

The inference here is that each individual, as a representative of the nation, has a responsibility to learn and develop, to the highest standard possible, the national language. Once again, it is the individual's responsibility in the group which is highlighted, just as it was in the immediate group.

Emotional attachment to the national group is encouraged by Monbusho. The language used in sections advocating emotional attachment to the group is exactly the same as that used in relation to school, family and community groups. The two most prominent themes are respect and love. Respect for the national group takes form in various aspects of the national guidelines. Part of the main aim of Japanese (文部省 1989d: 12) is:

・・国語を尊重する態度を育てる
(..to foster an attitude of respect for the national language)

Likewise, the guidelines for history (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989f: 29) recommend respect for national history and historical figures. These subject-specific aims are based on the general Monbusho policies (文部省 1989a:7), which state that Japanese schools should:

我が国の文化と伝統を尊重する態度の育成を重視する・・
(Attach great importance to the fostering of an attitude of respect for our country's culture and traditions...)

This attitude of respect should be combined with love for the nation and its various aspects. Again, this theme appears in various subject guidelines. In Japanese, love for the national language is claimed to be a natural result of awareness of its special characteristics and its role in individual and national life (文部省 1989d: 9). In social studies, one of the aims in the civic education guidelines (文部省 1989f: 37) is:

自国を愛し、その平和と繁栄を図り文化を高めることが大切であることを自覚させる。
(To make [students] aware that it is important to love their own country, to aim for its peace and prosperity, and to heighten its culture.)

These attitudes of respect and love for the nation are stressed more strongly by Monbusho in the 1989 policies than in previous education reforms. The most obvious symbol of this new emphasis was the section included by Monbusho in the 1989 guidelines which stated that the national flag should be flown and the national anthem sung at entrance and graduation ceremonies. As explained in section 4.4, this issue had

been a point of contention between Monbusho and teachers' unions (who rejected both symbols as nationalistic) for many years. The justification given by Monbusho for these new guidelines is that the flag and anthem will cultivate love for the nation and respect for the national symbols (文部省 1989g: 99). This emotional attachment to the nation, as to the immediate group, is considered to be a vital part of the student's participation in the group.

Finally, the concept of improvement is also common to Monbusho discussions of self in the immediate and the national groups. Improvement of the group by the individual continues to be an expectation, even at national level. This improvement is founded in self-awareness as a Japanese person, responsibility as a national citizen and emotional attachment to the country. It appears in the Monbusho comments quoted above, in terms such as "creator of a peaceful, democratic nation", aiming for "peace and prosperity" and "heightening culture". It is most clearly illustrated by one of the content areas of moral education (文部省 1989e: 41):

> 日本人としての自覚をもって国を愛し、国家の発展に尽くすとともに、優れた伝統の継承と新しい文化の創造に役立つように努める。
> (To love the country with self-awareness as a Japanese person, to strive for the development of the nation, and to try to be of use in the continuation of outstanding traditions and the creation of new culture.)

All the Monbusho expectations of the individual vis-a-vis the national group are laid out in this single quote. Self-awareness, emotional attachment, a sense of responsibility and a striving for improvement are all themes familiar to students from the context of the immediate group. For Monbusho, it seems that the expectations of self in the immediate and national groups are identical, and there is complete consistency between social identities in the personal, face-to-face environment, and in the more distant, abstract national context.

Although expectations of the individual vis-a-vis the national group mirror those in the immediate group, the role of the group vis-a-vis the individual is slightly different. The emphasis in the national context is on status, and the roles of protection and discipline are less apparent. The responsibility of the nation for the individual is not emphasised, although it is certainly implicit in the functions of protection and discipline.

The status of the group is emphasised by Monbusho and in the textbooks through repeated references to the historical, cultural, linguistic and political aspects of national life. These aspects are viewed as providing a rich fund of national resources, upon which students can build their national identity. The linguistic function of the nation for

the individual is, naturally, most prominent in Japanese, the national language. The Monbusho guidelines for Japanese (文部省 1989d: 9) describe in detail what the national language does for the individual:

> 国語は国民の一人一人にとって人間としての活動の中枢をなすものであり、国語の果たしている役割が、国民各自の自己形成と充実、我が国の社会の成立と向上、進歩、文化の継承と創造、発展などに欠かせないものである。
> (The national language is what forms the nucleus of activity as a person for each one of the national people. As such, the national language plays an essential role in the self-creation and fulfilment of each individual national citizen, as well as in the formation, improvement and progress of our nation's society, and the continuation, creation and development of its culture.)

As well as illustrating the perceived function of the national language for the individual, this quote clarifies the relationship of the individual and the group in the national context. As quoted above, each individual has a responsibility for the national language. Here, the national language has a responsibility for the self-creation and fulfilment of each individual. The two aspects are symbiotic in that both sides are striving for improvement of the individual and the national society.

National language is just one aspect of the national culture which students are taught in junior high school. Monbusho includes in the national curriculum a substantial amount of national cultural knowledge with which students should be acquainted. This includes national literature (文部省 1989d: 104), national music (文部省 1989b: 64) and national art (ibid 71). More generally, Monbusho advocates the teaching of national culture and traditions (文部省 1989a: 7) and, in social studies, the Japanese way of life (文部省 1989f: 35). The cultural (including linguistic) aspects of the Japanese national group are those emphasised most frequently and most strongly by Monbusho. In this respect, national identity becomes very closely entwined with cultural identity, supporting the theories discussed in sections 2.1 and 4.2.

Another aspect of the national group emphasised by Monbusho is the historical aspect. This is closely connected with the cultural aspect, with students studying national culture and traditions through history (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989f: 55) and classical Japanese literature (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989d: 104). In addition, students learn about the history of Japan as a nation (東京書籍, *Tokyo Shoseki*, 1996a), based on the Monbusho (文部省 1989f: 56) recommendation that:

> ・・特に国家・社会及び文化の発展や人々の生活の向上に尽くした人物について学ぶことは大切である。

> (In particular, it is important to learn about the people who have striven for the development of the nation, society and culture, and those who have improved people's lives.)

Similarly, students are taught about the war, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the post-war recovery of Japan. This historical consciousness is a key factor in Monbusho attitudes to self in both the national and international contexts.

In addition to the linguistic, cultural and historical situation and status afforded by the national group, Monbusho also refers to the political status. There is a clear line drawn between teaching students about the form of government in Japan and teaching students politics. The latter is strictly forbidden by the 1949 Fundamental Law of Education, as Monbusho (文部省 1989a: 49) points out. Specifically, teachers in state schools are not permitted to teach or carry out any activities which support or oppose a particular political party. The same applies to religion. At the same time, however, respect for politics and religion are to be taught. Teaching about the government is based on the Japanese Constitution, which students study in civic education. The Monbusho guidelines (文部省, 1989f: 39) make the following statement:

> ・・我が国の政治が日本国憲法に基づいて行われていることの意義について考えさせる
> (To make [students] think about the significance of the fact that the government of our country is carried out on the foundations of the Japanese Constitution.)

The status of Japan as a political entity is thus another aspect of the national group which is explicitly made known to individual students, reinforcing notions of legal-territorial national identity (see section 2.1). The broad base of linguistic, cultural, historical and political knowledge taught to students in junior high school constitutes a definition, by the national group, of what Japan is and what it means to be Japanese. This definition provides status to the individual, who can construct from the knowledge base a framework of the group to which s/he belongs.

The status provided by the group to the individual is the element most emphasised by Monbusho, but the group roles of protection and discipline are also significant. Both aspects are predominant in the civic education guidelines. In a section on national life and welfare, for example, Monbusho (文部省 1989f: 102) lays down the following content for teaching:

> 国民生活の向上や福祉の増大を図るためには、雇用と労働条件の改善、消費者の保護、社会保障の充実、社会資本の整備、公害の防止など環境の保全、資源やエネルギーの有効な開発・利用などが必要であることを理解させる。

> (To make students understand that, to improve national life and increase welfare, it is necessary to improve employment and labour conditions, protect consumers, enrich social security, maintain social capital, prevent pollution and conserve the environment and exploit and use resources and energy effectively.)

Again, the theme is improvement of the group (national) and individual life, and this section goes on to recommend the teaching of the respective roles of the state and the individual in achieving improvement in all these aspects of protection. Similarly, the state provides the law, which is based on the principles of the Constitution, to ensure discipline in the national group (文部省, *Monbusho* 1989f: 111). Discipline is provided by the national group, but each individual is expected to develop the habit of keeping the law, or self-discipline (ibid). Group discipline and individual self-discipline lead to improvement of the self and of the national society. The pattern is a replica of discipline in the immediate group (see sections 7.3 and 8.2).

Although the emphasis in the national context differs slightly from the immediate context, then, the basic ideas and expectations of the functions of the group vis-a-vis the individual remain constant, as far as Monbusho is concerned. The nation provides status, protection and discipline for the individual. In return, the individual is expected to actively engage in the national group through self-awareness, responsibility and attachment. If both parties fulfil their respective functions adequately, the result is simultaneous improvement of the individual and the national group.

In the last part of this section, Monbusho definitions of the characteristics of the national group will be discussed and compared to the characteristics of the immediate group. Firstly, as in the immediate group, unity is considered important. In the Monbusho guidelines for civic education (文部省 1989f: 39), for example, the following position is taken with regard to teaching students about the Japanese Imperial family:

> ・・日本国及び日本国民統合の象徴としての天皇の地位と天皇の国事に関する行為について理解させる。
> (To make [students] understand the Emperor's constitutional functions and the status of the Emperor as a symbol of the nation and the unity of the Japanese people.)

In a similar fashion, the aforementioned reinstatement by Monbusho of the use of the symbols of the national flag and anthem at school entrance and graduation ceremonies also serves to strengthen national unity. This use of national symbols parallels the use of rituals such as ceremonies in the immediate group. In both contexts, the purpose is to reinforce group unity.

The concept of equality is also significant at national level, as it was in the class and school group. The focus on national level is less on equality of individuals and more on equality between schools. This is the justification given for the tight Monbusho control of national education, and it is addressed in the general guidelines (文部省 1989a: 17):

> ・・全国どこにおいても同水準の教育を受けることのできる機会を国で保障することが必要である。このため、中学校教育の目的や目標を達成するために学校において編成、実施される教育課程について、国として一定の基準を設けて国全体としての統一性を保つことが必要となる。
> (It is necessary to ensure at national level that opportunities to receive the same standard of education are uniform throughout the country. For this purpose, it is necessary for the organisation and enforcement of the educational curriculum in school in order to achieve the aims and goals of junior high school education to be established to a standardised national level, preserving unity throughout the whole nation.)

Equality and unity of the national group contribute to its third major characteristic, which is the establishment of boundaries. National symbols, national language, national literature, culture and traditions all serve to distinguish the 'in-group' of the nation from the 'out-group' of the rest of the world. These are aspects of national life all specifically taught in Japanese schools according to Monbusho guidelines. These are the outward manifestations of nationality and national identity, however. At a deeper level, Monbusho also promotes the concepts of the Japanese way of life and Japanese ways of seeing and thinking. These ideas of shared national ways of seeing and thinking will reappear in the discussion of Monbusho ideas of self in the world (section 10.3), and relate to the concepts discussed in chapter 9.

Monbusho ideas of self in the nation are, then, in their most basic form, a carbon copy of Monbusho ideas of self in the immediate group. The same assumed relationship between self and the group, the same expectations of self and of the group, the same symbiotic relationship and the same characteristics of the group ensure a high level of consistency between the various identities. The national group, however, overlaps not only with the immediate group, but also with the international group, and this will be the focus of the next section.

10.3 Self in the world - the Monbusho view

This section, like the previous one, will broadly follow the structure of section 10.1. Due to the nature of Monbusho interpretations of self in the world, however, it will not follow this structure as closely as section 10.2 did. A discussion of the basic

relationship of self to the world group will be followed by an examination of the individual vis-a-vis the group and the group vis-a-vis the individual. The final section will consider characteristics of the group.

One of the main policies of the 1989 Monbusho reforms was internationalisation, specifically, the education of students who would be able to live in an international society. Throughout the reforms, the nation is constantly juxtaposed with international society. Under closer scrutiny, however, it becomes clear that the basic relationship of self to the international or world group and society is very different from the relationship that is promoted in the immediate and national contexts. The most crucial difference, already introduced in section 9.4, is in the replacement of the individual (個人, *kosei*; 生徒一人一人, *seito hitori hitori* etc.) by the Japanese person (日本人, *nihonjin*). At international level, students do not act, interact or think as individuals, but as Japanese people. Effectively, the relationship of self and the group is transformed into a relationship of national citizen and the world. National identity is afforded priority over individual identity in Monbusho documents. This basic difference brings into play a whole new set of associated assumptions, expectations and ideas about the functions of the individual and of the group.

As in the immediate and national groups, Monbusho expects self-awareness at the international level. Contrary to the immediate and national situations, what Monbusho requires is not self-awareness as an individual, but self-awareness as a Japanese person in the world (世界の中の日本人, *sekai no naka no nihonjin*) or as a Japanese person living in international society (国際社会に生きる日本人, *kokusai shakai ni ikiru nihonjin*). These are key phrases throughout the Monbusho documents and key concepts in grasping Monbusho's view of internationalisation and international identity. They appear repeatedly throughout the general policies and in most of the subject documents. To give a typical example, this quote is taken from the guidelines for foreign languages (文部省 1989c: 90) in a section on international understanding:

> ・・生徒に世界の中の日本人であることを自覚させ、これらを通じ国際協調の精神を養うよう配慮することが大切である。
> (It is important to make students self-aware that they are Japanese people in the world, and, from there, to consider how to cultivate a spirit of international co-operation.)

It is significant that students are not encouraged to develop this spirit of international co-operation or understanding as an individual, but only as a Japanese person, a representative of their nation. In the Monbusho guidelines, I found only one exception to this notion of self-awareness as a Japanese person in the world. That exception is found in a section on guidance of returnees (students who return to Japanese schools

after a period spent in a foreign country) and foreign students in Japanese schools. Positive about the experiences of these students in other countries, and their benefits for other students in the class, 文部省 (*Monbusho* 1989a: 99) makes the recommendation that:

> ・・このような相互啓発を通じ、国際理解を深めるとともに、国際社会に生きる人間として望ましい能力や態度を育成することが期待される。
> (Through this sort of mutual enlightenment, international understanding will be deepened, and the development of desirable abilities and attitudes as a human being (*ningen*) living in international society is expected.)

As the exception which proves the rule, the replacement of 日本人 (*nihonjin*) or "a Japanese person" by 人間 (*ningen*) or "a human being" is striking. It is natural that foreign children are not expected to have an identity as a Japanese person (although curriculum guidelines, as quoted in section 10.2, often make the assumption that all children in Japanese schools are Japanese, born and brought up in Japan). It is interesting that returnee children are also allowed to have personal identity as a human being prioritised over identity as a Japanese person. For the majority of children in Japanese schools, however, Monbusho offers no such alternative. Self-awareness and identity in the world equal self-awareness as a Japanese person.

Self-awareness as a beginning point of identity was also advocated in the immediate and national groups, but from this point the patterns of self in the group diverge. In the immediate and national groups, the next steps for the individual are to take on responsibility and develop an emotional attachment to the group. In the international context, the concept of responsibility in the world does appear, but it is Japan's responsibility in the world, rather than any individual responsibility, which is emphasised. The concepts of self in the group are overshadowed, however, by a different set of ideas, and this is the set of ideas explained in sections 9.2 and 9.4. In the international context, self-awareness is a prerequisite to the development of a *tachiba* (position, viewpoint) as a Japanese person in the world. For example, the aims for geography (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989f: 23) include the following:

> ・・国際社会における日本の立場や役割を考えさせる。
> (To make [students] think about Japan's *tachiba* and role in international society.)

This aim does not require any active engagement in international society on the part of the students, and this is true of most of the Monbusho recommendations promoting internationalisation. Students are expected to think in abstract terms of Japan in relation to the world. This is very different to the immediate and national groups, which expected individual involvement and engagement of the student. An exception to this

general rule is found in the guidelines for foreign languages (文部省 1989c: 7). This quote clarifies Monbusho expectations of the individual at international level, and demonstrates the meaning of establishing a *tachiba* as a Japanese person:

> 国際理解とは・・外国のことだけを受け身的に理解することだけではなく、日本の文化や日本人の考え方などを海外に知らせるという積極的な面もあることを忘れてはならない。
> (It should not be forgotten that international understanding is... not only understanding foreign things passively, but that there is also the aspect of actively making known Japanese culture and Japanese people's way of thinking abroad.)

In the terms used in the immediate and national group settings, the individual has a responsibility in the world, but that responsibility is to the nation rather than to the world. The same principle applies to the notion of emotional attachment to the group. At no point does Monbusho advocate any attachment to the world group or international society. Instead, it uses the international context to reinforce emotional attachment to the national group, thus strengthening national group boundaries. An example of this practice is in the discussion of the use of the national flag and national anthem at school ceremonies (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989g:99). In the rationale for reintroducing these symbols of national identity, the following statement appears:

> 日本人としての自覚を養い、国を愛する心を育てるとともに、生徒が将来、国際社会において尊敬され、信頼される日本人として成長していくためには、国旗及び国歌に対して正しい認識をもたせ、それらを尊重する態度を育てることは重要なことである。
> (It is important to nurture students' self-awareness as Japanese people and foster a spirit of love for the country. It is also important to foster an attitude of respect towards and a correct understanding of the national flag and the national anthem, so that students will grow as Japanese people who can be respected and trusted in international society in the future.)

This kind of appeal to the international context as a rationale for the strengthening of national identity is typical of the Monbusho attitude to internationalisation in the 1989 guidelines. Although there are countless references to internationalisation, these are almost invariably subjugated to identity as a national citizen. For example, a section on Japan in the international world in geography deals with the issue of teaching about the islands north of Japan, which are disputed territory between Japan and Russia. Monbusho categorically states that students should be taught that these are Japanese islands, and that Japan's *tachiba* of asserting their ownership is a fair one (文部省 1989f: 34). As described in section 9.4, establishing a national *tachiba* means seeing the world through a national lens. This is balanced by Monbusho's advocation of the ability to see Japan from a wide perspective, or the ability to decentre (see section 9.4). For

example, a newly introduced section in the geography curriculum is entitled "Japanese people's way of life". It is explained by 文部省 (*Monbusho* 1989f: 35) in this way:

> 世界の人々の生活についての学習成果を生かし、それと比較するなどして、日本の人々の生活の特色が学習できるよう新設された項目であり、世界的な視野から見て日本の人々の生活のをとらえさせることをねらいとしている。
> (This is a new established item which puts study of the ways of life of people of the world to good use and, through comparison and so on, aims to get students to understand the Japanese people's way of life from a world perspective.)

Most Monbusho references to wide and world perspectives similarly recommend such perspectives only to look in on Japan. When looking at other countries, a Japanese perspective is usually recommended in preference to a world perspective. The emphasis is on asserting and assessing Japan's position in the world. Unlike Monbusho recommendations in the immediate environment (see section 9.4), this self-assertion is not interpreted as a prelude to self-reflection and self-change. Neither is self-assertion the assertion of the individual; rather, it is the assertion of the state. In the international sphere, Monbusho recommends national self-assertion as the official position. An important point, though, is that national self-assertion in the world is not an indicator of hostility towards international society. On the contrary, Monbusho stresses the positive aspects of more engaged, assertive involvement by Japan in international society. In the Monbusho guidelines, assertive participation in international society is portrayed as a reflection of the contributing, independent, self-expressive individual in the immediate environment (see section 9.2), but at national level. The result is a very nationally-centred form of internationalisation, characteristic of the early stage of international identity discussed in section 2.2. If the whole process of developing ways of seeing and thinking, as it is promoted in the immediate environment (see chapter 9), were to be applied to the international context, there would be a much greater emphasis on widening and changing ways of seeing and thinking about the world (leading into the later stage of international and intercultural identities described in section 2.2). Instead, internationalisation seems to mean little at the individual level to Monbusho beyond the acquisition of knowledge and the reinforcement of Japanese national and cultural identities.

As the sense of world group is so weak in the Monbusho documents, it is hardly surprising that the characteristics of the group strongly emphasised at immediate and national levels - unity, equality, boundaries - are largely absent. As pointed out above, the international sphere is used to reinforce national boundaries rather than remove any barriers between countries. In other areas, there are a few exceptions to this generalisation. In the moral education guidelines, in particular, there are occasional

references to the concept of equality and unity as human beings. In a passage which stands out from the surrounding discussion of self-awareness as a Japanese person in international society (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989e: 42), the following point is made:

> ・・どの国の人々も同じ人間として尊重し合い、差別や偏見を持たずに公正、公平に接するということである。おごらず、へつらわず、対等に付き合って、はじめて正しい意味での国際人と呼べるのである。
> (As a human being, irrespective of nationality, all people should be treated with respect, justice and fairness, and without discrimination or prejudice. When a person can associate with others equally, without arrogance or excessive flattery, then, for the first time in its correct meaning, s/he can be called an international person.)

This is noteworthy as one of very few references to an international person (国際人, *kokusaijin*) in the Monbusho guidelines. The overwhelming image gleaned from the documents is that Monbusho is not aiming to develop international citizens, neither is it claiming to. Monbusho, as it clearly states, is aiming to develop Japanese citizens who can live in an international society. National identity is prioritised over international identity. Moreover, at the international level, national identity is also prioritised over individual identity, as students are expected to approach the world as Japanese people, with Japanese ways of thinking and seeing. While the basic principles of self and the immediate group (school, class, local community) are applied to the national context, then, Monbusho considers them irrelevant to the international sphere. A different, and partial, set of principles is used at international level, based on awareness and assertion of one's own position as a Japanese person in the world. Internationalisation, Monbusho style, seems to be intended to reinforce, rather than provide alternatives to, national and cultural identities. Many students' views are quite different, and will be the focus of the next two sections.

10.4 Self in the nation - student views

Japanese junior high school students are taught the Monbusho curriculum by teachers using Monbusho guidelines through Monbusho-approved textbooks. National control of individual learning is strict, and yet Monbusho cannot simply pour into students the concepts of national and international identities that it holds. Each individual student has to construct his/her own image of self in the nation and world and, naturally, these images vary. This section will explore some of the students' ideas about self in the nation, as a Japanese person. Again, the structure of section 10.1 will be followed as far as possible.

Firstly, the relationship between the individual and the national group is not so clearly defined by students as it is by Monbusho. The self is recognised as a member of a national group, but it is not the case, as it was for Monbusho, that development of the self and of the nation are considered to be synonymous. For students, membership of the national group is not comparable with the immediate group either. Membership of a national group still appears to be, for many students, an abstract concept which has little bearing on their daily lives. When asked in a questionnaire (Q7, see appendix 2) to rate how Japanese they considered themselves on a scale of 1 to 5, and to give their reasons, 25% of the students spontaneously gave reasons referring to their lack of knowledge or maturity as Japanese people. The following kind of reason was typical:

> 日本人としては、まだ半分までしか成長していない子供だから。
> (Because I'm not even half way grown up as a Japanese person yet - I'm a child.) (Q7: 29)

It is doubtful that a similar type of reason would be given in relation to the immediate class or school group. These kind of comments suggest that, for many students, there is little consistency between self as a member of the immediate and national groups, at least at the junior high school stage. For other students, there may be consistency, but this did not emerge in the data I collected.

Although the relationship between the individual and the group may vary from the immediate group situation and from the Monbusho ideals, students still do have self-awareness as a member of the national group. On a rating scale of 1 to 5, 70% of students rated themselves as very (5) or quite (4) Japanese, suggesting a high level of consciousness as Japanese people. This was expressed by one student, who rated himself as '5' on the scale, in the following way:

> 自分で日本人としてのじかくをもって生きている。
> (I am living with awareness of myself as a Japanese person) (Q7: 66)

This consciousness of national identity is not shared by all students, though, as this girl remarks:

> すごーく日本人だなとは思わない。
> (I don't think I'm all that Japanese.) (Q7: 36)

As in the immediate group and the Monbusho guidelines, students have a sense of responsibility in the nation. Unlike the Monbusho guidelines, there is no mention of individual responsibility as "creator of a democratic, peaceful nation" or anything similar. As far as students are concerned, their role as national citizens is to learn more about Japan. From a linguistic point of view, this idea echoes the Monbusho advocation that students have a responsibility to learn the national language (see section 10.2). In

the questionnaire, 7% of students suggested that they were not yet fully Japanese because their knowledge of the Japanese language was still incomplete. Explanations from these students included the following:

> まだまだ知らない言葉もある・・
> (There are still words I don't know..) (Q7: 15)

Even more specifically, this student claims that she is not particularly Japanese:

> 敬語の使い方があいまいだから。
> (Because I'm unclear about the use of honorific language.) (Q7: 26)

An essential part of being Japanese for these students, then, is the mastery of their native language. Even though students' language abilities are perfectly adequate for communication and study, they are considered insufficient for full self-identity as a Japanese person. Among students, this sense of responsibility to learn more about the Japanese language is extended to other spheres too. Among the 25% of students who put their lack of Japaneseness down to a lack of maturity or knowledge about Japanese things, a considerable number specify lack of cultural knowledge. For example, this student says:

> まだ自分の国の歴史や文化を完全には理解していないので、日本人になりきってはいないと思います。
> (I don't know my own country's history and culture perfectly yet, so I don't think I have completely become a Japanese person.) (Q7: 14)

Other students echo this idea, emphasising their own responsibility in becoming a Japanese person:

> 日本人として、まだ勉強しなければならないことがたくさんある。
> (There are still many things that I must study as a Japanese person.) (Q7:24)

The sense of responsibility expressed by students is slightly different from that expressed by Monbusho. While Monbusho emphasises responsibility for the development and reputation of the national group, students emphasise responsibility for their own development of knowledge of the group. Monbusho assumes full membership of the national group, whereas many students do not yet consider themselves to be 'full' members of the Japanese national group. This leads to a distinction for many students between the immediate groups to which they know they belong, and the national group, of which they are still working towards membership. It also contradicts the ethnic-genealogical model of national identity described in section 2.1 and the *nihonjinron* theories of national and cultural identity as rooted in Japanese blood (section 4.2).

Monbusho explicitly recommends the development of an emotional attachment to the national group, focusing on respect and love for the country. Although students exhibit and express emotional attachment to the immediate group (see section 10.1), such attachment to the national group is not often explicitly voiced. Implicitly, though, some examples of the attachment desired by Monbusho are apparent, as in this comment written in a moral education class:

> この日本は、いそがしい国だけど、とてもいい国です。
> (This Japan is a busy country, but it's a very good country.) (W1: 4)

Other students explicitly reject such attachment to the nation. One boy, who rated himself at '2' on the scale of Japaneseness, explains that:

> 日本人は、心が広くないから
> (Japanese people are not broad-minded) (Q7: 117)

The degree of attachment to the nation is closely related to the positive or negative image of the nation. It is only natural that, as students' images vary, so does their sense of attachment to the nation.

Finally, the notion of improvement, although apparent among students, diverges from its Monbusho interpretation. The concept of improvement of the national group, as stressed by Monbusho, is not evident in student comments. In fact, in comparison to the context of the immediate group, improvement as a theme is very much de-emphasised. In the questionnaire I conducted, there were many references to lack of knowledge and the need to know more before students could consider themselves national citizens, but only one student specifically uses the phrases of self-improvement so often repeated in the immediate group environment. One student remarks:

> これからまだたくさん学ぶことがあり自分の気持ち心をみがかなければならない
> (From now, there are still many things to learn, and I have to improve my own spirit and heart.) (*Q7: 39*)

Student interpretations of expectations of self vis-a-vis the national group are, therefore, quite different to Monbusho expectations and to their own expectations in the immediate group. Although similar terms are used by Monbusho and the students, students place much less emphasis than Monbusho on the contribution of the individual to the national group. The root cause of these differences is that many students do not yet consider themselves to be full members of the national group due to lack of knowledge or maturity. This is a stark contrast to Monbusho assumptions of homogeneity and birth as criteria of Japaneseness (see section 10.2).

Student ratings and explanations of their own Japaneseness also serve to define their interpretations of the national group and its role in the life of the individual. The roles of the immediate and Monbusho-defined national groups - that is, protection, discipline and responsibility - are noticeably absent. What remains is the group function of providing status to the individual. In student explanations of what makes them Japanese, or what features define their status as Japanese people, the categories of genealogy, territory, language, culture, knowledge and way of thinking were prominent (Q7). The genealogical function of the group was identified by 5% of students, who explained that they were Japanese because they had Japanese parents or because they looked like Japanese. This function overlapped with the territorial function. It was noticeable in the questionnaire that the 10% of students who defined their Japaneseness as due to being born and brought up in Japan and the 2 who cited their legal Japanese nationality all marked themselves as '5' on the scale of Japaneseness. It appears from this evidence that the function of the group as a territorial-legal-political group assures the most secure identity as a Japanese person at individual level. When students claim that being born and brought up in Japan as what makes them Japanese, however, it is unclear whether their concept is purely territorial or incorporates other factors.

One striking point to emerge from the questionnaire responses, however, was that references to the genealogical and territorial aspects of the national group were vastly outnumbered by references to the linguistic and cultural aspects of the group. For students, as for Monbusho, national identity appears to be inextricable from cultural identity. The importance of language in national identity has already been illustrated by the students whose perceived lack of perfection in the use of the Japanese language led to the belief that they can not yet be full national citizens. Japanese language ability, whether positively or negatively assessed, is a vital aspect of the national group. 17% of the students cited the national language as the key to their identity as Japanese. The majority of these students stated that they were Japanese because they could speak the language, with the rest choosing to focus on their still imperfect knowledge of the language. Even more numerous, though, were comments which referred to other cultural aspects of being Japanese. 28% of students explained their Japaneseness through reference to such aspects. The aspects of culture students focused on were wide-ranging. Some students refer to religious aspects of national culture:

> 神道やってから、日本の国家宗教というわけで５ぐらいにしておこうと思った。。
> (As we're Shinto, and that's the Japanese state religion, I thought I'd put '5'..) (Q7: 32)

Others state that knowledge of national history and culture are necessary to be a 'proper' Japanese person. An emphasis on traditions, particularly traditional arts and crafts, was noticeable, and reflects Monbusho's emphasis on the importance of teaching students about national culture and traditions. One girl balances linguistic and cultural aspects in her definition of what it means for her to be Japanese:

> 日本の伝統文化を、まだ１つしか挑戦してないが、日本語を話すことができる。
> (I've only tried one Japanese traditional cultural art so far, but I can speak Japanese.) (Q7: 35)

Other students claim that participation in classes such as 書道 (*shodou*, brush calligraphy) makes them Japanese. All students have lessons in calligraphy in school and, at 一中, 12.3% of the students take calligraphy classes outside school (F8:5). Another 1.2% of 一中 students take classes in other traditional Japanese cultural pursuits such as そろばん (abacus) and 生け花 (flower-arranging). In addition, a minority of students at 一中 (approx. 8%) belonged to school clubs which practise traditional Japanese sports such as kendo, judo and sumo (F4: 1). One member of the kendo club assesses the effect of this on his sense of national identity:

> 部活で、「はかま」など日本のでんとうてきなものを身につける。
> (In club activities, I'm acquiring Japanese tradition through wearing *hakama* and so on.) (Q7:60)

For these and other students, then, Japaneseness is epitomised by cultural traditions. For other students, being Japanese means living a Japanese way of life. A Japanese way of life is defined by students as living in a Japanese-style house (with *tatami* etc.), using chopsticks and eating Japanese rather than Western food. For many students, this is an area of conflict in their national and cultural identities, as this girl expresses:

> パンを食べたり、キリスト教でもないのに、クリスマスをしたり、じゅん和風じゃない。
> (I eat bread, and celebrate Christmas even though I'm not Christian, so I'm not pure Japanese style.) (*Q7: 23*)

Other students also raise this idea of being 'pure' Japanese, usually to claim that they are not. Like the ideas of 'perfect Japanese language' and 'complete understanding of Japanese culture' quoted above, this notion seems to be an ideal rather than a reality. For students, the national group provides a set of ideals. In contrast to the immediate group, where ideals and aims were achievable with effort, these national ideals supposed by students are unattainable. Nobody has a complete understanding of Japanese culture, and it is extremely doubtful that anybody lives a 'pure' Japanese way of life, if such a thing even exists. For the 16% of students who explicitly base their national identity on genealogical and/or territorial grounds, the issue is relatively unproblematic. For the

51% who explicitly state that national identity is developed through life, through the acquisition of cultural and linguistic abilities and/or maturity, self as a Japanese is a more fragile concept. This is reflected in the students' own ratings, with the 16% in the former category having a average rating of 4.85 on the self-evaluated 1 to 5 scale of Japaneseness. The 51% of students in the latter category, by contrast, had an average self-rating of 3.74. For these students (and probably others who did not make their reasons explicit), the national group provides a set of ideals to the individual, but the individual does not consider him/herself able to meet these ideals. This relationship of the self and the group stands in stark contrast to the nurturing, symbiotic relationships in the immediate environment.

Turning the focus to characteristics of the national group, the unity and equality advocated by Monbusho are virtually ignored by students. Of course, Monbusho is in an advantaged position to express ideas about national unity and equality. Individual students do not have that national perspective. Monbusho sees the wood while the students see the leaves. Although students do not express ideas about unity and equality, except in their acceptance of the concept of a national culture and way of life, they do comment on group boundaries. One student uses the often quoted geographic boundary as an argument for insularity:

> 日本は島国だから、外国人とせっすることがないと思う。
> (I think that because Japan is an island country, we haven't had contact with foreigners.) (W1:32)

Most other students do not quote such obvious boundaries, but one point which came through in the questionnaire (Q7) was that many students see 'Japanese' and 'foreign' as mutually exclusive categories, where Japanese is interpreted as the ideal of 'pure' Japaneseness rather than any reality. One student describes why she considers herself "quite Japanese":

> いつも日本人らしく日本語で話していたり、はしをつかって物を食べているし、着物だって着るので日本人、でも少し日本人らしくない日がある それは、いろいろとナイフなど外人が多く日常つかうものをときどきつかうから
> (In the Japanese way, we're always talking Japanese, and we eat using chopsticks, and even wear *kimono*, so we're Japanese, but there are days which aren't very Japanese. That's when we sometimes do things like use knives and things that foreigners use a lot in everyday life.) (Q7: 73)

Here, there is a clear boundary drawn between a Japanese way of life and a foreign way of life, and the two are viewed as mutually exclusive. Any foreign objects or habits appear to be seen, by this student, to diminish the Japaneseness of the way of life. As always, group boundary lines are more firmly marked when the national group comes

into contact with a foreign group. This is even more true when the 'foreign element' is a person rather then a knife:

> 僕達はれっきとした日本人であり国際人とは違う所もいろいろある。
> (We are genuine Japanese people, so we are different in various respects from international people.) (Q7:101)

The term 国際人 (*kokusaijin*) is problematic here. Although it literally means 'an international person', and is recognised in that sense by Monbusho, it is rarely used by Monbusho (see section 10.3 for exception) or schools, replaced by the phrase "a Japanese person in an international society". This means that it is a phrase which, like 国際化 (*kokusaika*) itself, is open to multiple interpretations (see section 4.3). For this boy, an international person seems to be equivalent to a foreigner, and the boundaries between the inside national group and the outside world could hardly be more clearly drawn.

This boy holds one particular view. Other students hold completely different views of national identity and the national group. This section has aimed to demonstrate the plurality of views held by students, and their divergence from the official Monbusho line. It has also tried to demonstrate that, for most students, self in the national group is not comparable to self in the immediate class, club or school group. The consistency of Monbusho interpretations of self in the immediate and national groups crumbles at student level. Students still see themselves as Japanese, but the relationship of self and the group, and the roles of self and the group, are qualitatively different.

10.5 Self in the world - student views

As in the nation, student views of self in the world vary with the individual. Although a Monbusho view of self in the world was definable, there is no such thing as "a student view". This section will try to cover a range of student views, drawing out patterns and generalities where they exist. Again, it will follow the structure of section 10.1, discussing the basic relationship of self and the world group or sphere, the expectations of the individual and the group, and the characteristics of the group as perceived by students.

One generalisation which can be made is that student views of self in the world diverge from Monbusho views. The transition from individual in the group to Japanese person in the world which is crucial to Monbusho interpretations of internationalisation does

not seem to exist in student views. The lack of a commonly used term for an international person (as opposed to a Japanese person in an international society) makes it difficult to separate student ideas about national and international identity. For some students, it makes it difficult to have any ideas, as they comment, for example:

> 国際人というのが、よくわからない
> (I don't really know what an international person is.) (Q7: 16)

At the same time, the lack of preconceptions and cultural loading associated with the term gives students greater freedom to express their own ideas, and this opportunity is taken by many students, with a wide range of answers given in response to a request to define the term 国際人 (*kokusaijin*). Among the definitions given, the notion of a Japanese person in an international society is not cited once. 18% of students define an international person as a foreigner or someone living in a foreign country, that is, a definition which has no relation to themselves. For the remaining 72%, the definition is relevant to themselves. That is, they are, or have potential to be, 国際人 (*kokusaijin*). Without exception, these students' definitions are based on identity as an individual rather than national identity. For the majority of students then, the relationship of self and the group is carried through into the international sphere, not usurped by the category of Japanese person in the world. This is highly significant, and its implications will be drawn out in the rest of this section.

As in all other group contexts, many students claim that self-awareness is important in the international sphere. Students themselves claim that their level of self-awareness as a person in the world is still low. This student's comment is typical of many:

> 国際人だとあまり思っていないのは、あまり意識をしていないから
> (The reason I don't really think I'm an international person is that I don't have much consciousness as one.) (Q7: 77)

Other students, as in the national sphere, claim that they are still too young or immature to recognise themselves as international people. These comments are reflected in the self-rating of 1 to 5 on a scale of how international students considered themselves to be. Obviously, the rating depended on the individual's definition of what an international person is. Nevertheless, the fact that only 3% of students considered themselves to be very (5) or quite (4) international stands in stark contrast to the 70% who considered themselves as very or quite Japanese. Self-awareness as a member of the world group, at junior high school level, still lags far behind self-awareness as a member of the national group.

Although self-awareness within the international sphere is recognised by the students themselves as low, many students still have clearly defined ideas about how they, as individuals, should be in the world. One of the ideas which is quite strongly emphasised is the idea of taking on responsibility and fulfilling a role as an individual in international society. Students' interpretations of this role seem to be consistent with their ideas of responsibility in the immediate group of the school and class (see section 10.1). The role involves personal involvement and a contribution to the group and to the other members of the group. At the abstract level, this student describes how she could become more international:

> もっと他の国のことを真けんに考え、そして、何かがあったら、すぐに助けあげられるようにすること。
> (Think more seriously about other countries and, if there is anything I can do, try to be able to help them quickly.) (W1: 29)

At 一中, words were also put into action by the Student Council, who organised student projects to send aid packages to Cambodia and the former Yugoslavia. These projects were promoted by the Student Council as 私たちにできる国際貢献 (the international contribution we can make) (F1:11). Through this project, all students at 一中 were made aware of their individual responsibility in the world, and were involved in practical measures to do something about it. Students in other schools, who were not involved in such projects, also considered a sense of responsibility in the international community important, but tended to focus on the absence rather than existence of such consciousness. This student's explanation of his self-assessed lack of international identity was echoed by several others:

> 国際的には何もしていないから
> (It's because I don't do anything international.) (Q7: 90)

In the nation, students' interpretation of their responsibility was limited to a responsibility to learn more about Japan, to perfect their language and their knowledge of Japanese culture, history and so on. In the international sphere, the interpretation reverts to the responsibility of the individual to actively contribute to the welfare of other people in the world group. In terms of ideas of responsibility, students' ideas of self in the international sphere are much closer to their ideas of self in the immediate group than self in the nation.

In the area of emotional attachment to the group, students' interpretations diverge again from their ideas of attachment to the national group and from Monbusho ideas. Whereas Monbusho de-emphasised attachment to the world group, using the international context to reinforce attachment to the national group, some students do

express a sense of emotional involvement in the international sphere. This student explained her ideas in an essay for a speech contest:

> What is a family for us? We have learned that a family is a group of people who are all linked in kinship or in affection at school. But I could not understand it very well, for I am sure that we are all members of the large family on the earth, even if we do not have any kinship... if people in the world do not cooperate and help each other, how will we or the earth be? (F7:2,26)

It is interesting that this student completely bypasses the national group. She certainly does not portray herself as a Japanese citizen in the world. Instead, just as other students did with the notion of responsibility, she applies the concepts of the immediate world and groups to the international sphere. In likening the world to a family group, she also extends the symbiotic relationship of self and the immediate group to the international arena, claiming that both individuals (we) and the group (the earth) will suffer if people don't co-operate and help each other. The very terms of co-operation and mutual help are drawn directly from the immediate group context. This is one end of the scale of emotional attachment in the world context. Many students, though, do not express such sentiments, either because they do not see themselves as members of the world or because they do not have an interest, or recognise their own role or responsibility in the world.

As in other areas, student ideas of the improvement in the international sphere are based on active engagement as individuals rather than representation of the nation. Like Monbusho, students are concerned with the theme of world peace. One student's recommendation for internationalisation is this:

> 戦争をしないで、平和にする
> (Not to make war, but to work for peace.) (W1:14)

This notion of self as a contributor to world peace is probably the aspect shared most firmly between students and Monbusho and between students and students. There was no evidence at all in my data to suggest any dissent, on any side, to the idea of working towards world peace. Indeed, world peace and internationalisation are often bracketed together as synonymous in school documents and student writing (e.g. F2:3). The idea of improvement of the world through working towards world peace is one of the most consistent and strongest policies and practices relating to internationalisation throughout all levels of Japanese education.

The above discussion covers most aspects of self in the group, but for students, there is an additional, vital aspect to the development of self in the international world. As in

the Monbusho interpretation of self in the international sphere, this relates to ways of thinking and seeing. Unlike the Monbusho interpretation, students do not emphasise the assertion of their own ways of seeing and thinking in the world, or the promotion of the national *tachiba*. The aspect receiving more attention from students is the development of the ability to change their own ways of seeing and thinking (see section 9.5). In the questionnaire on students' views of themselves as international people (Q7), 8% of students defined a 国際人 (*kokusaijin*) in terms of a way of seeing or thinking about the world. Examples of these definitions include the following:

> 世界を広い視野で、みつめられるような人。
> (The kind of person who can look at the world from a wide perspective.)
> (Q7: 5)

> 色々な考え方ができる人 (世界的な考え等)
> (Someone who can think in different ways (in a world way etc.)) (Q7: 107)

These ideas of thinking in different ways and from a wide perspective contrast with Monbusho's recommendation of a Japanese way of seeing and thinking in the world. They reappear as significant to students in solicited questionnaire answers and unsolicited essays and comments. The idea of widening one's mind or opening one's eyes to the world is a particularly strong one, as illustrated in section 9.5. After the project described above at 一中 to send parcels to Cambodia, the Student Council published the following message to all the students in the school:

> これからも世界に目を向けていなければならないと思いました。
> (We think that from now on, too, we have to keep our eyes turned out to the world.) (F1:25)

In practical terms, this opening to the world leads to changes in the ways of seeing and thinking of individuals. The study of English is supposed to have a key role in internationalisation and, for some students, the experience of studying English does change their way of seeing and thinking, as this student recounts:

> My English ability is still poor but I hope it will improve and that my outlook on English will also be broadened. My encounter with English has been a wonderful experience. It has broadened my horizons. (F7: 21)

For this student, the 'broadening of horizons' was due not only to English classes at school, but also in large part to the experience of corresponding with a penfriend. This raises a point common to many student accounts and lacking in Monbusho guidelines. For Monbusho, the development of self in the international arena is portrayed as a very impersonal process. For students, by contrast, the scenario of the immediate group is carried over into the world context. It is personal involvement and personal contact which trigger the changes of ways of thinking and seeing judged necessary by students

to develop their selves in international society. This is explicitly stated by one student as follows:

> 初め会った時はこわそうな人だと思ってしまうけど話しをしたり
> しているところを見るとやっぱりやさしそうな人なんだと思う。
> (When I first met a foreigner I thought they seemed frightening, but then I thought they seem to be quite nice people once you try speaking to them.) (Q4: 56)

The role of the school in providing this kind of personal contact and thus opportunities for students to develop their ways of thinking and seeing is demonstrated by the following girl's account of how she changed her way of thinking about foreigners:

> 私は、リン先生を見た時、外国人として少しけいべつしていました でも、何度か一緒に授業をしているうちにリン先生も私達も同じ人間なんだなと思うようになりました。
> (When I first saw Lynne, I looked down on her a bit as a foreigner. But, through having lessons together so many times, I came to think that both we and Lynne are the same human beings (*ningen*).) (W1: 22)

This example illustrates not only the process of the change of ways of thinking and seeing, but also the extension of group boundaries from the 'us' and 'them' advocated by Monbusho to the 'us' preferred by many students. This point will be returned to later in this section, while Chapter 11 will examine in depth the role of and attitudes towards personal contact in internationalisation.

For many students, then, the concept of self in the international world bears little resemblance to self in the nation, but is remarkably consistent with the concept of self in the immediate group. Of course, this is not true of all students. There exists a substantial number of students for whom the international sphere is irrelevant and/or distant. One generalisation that can be made, though, is that students do not demonstrate or advocate the Monbusho policy of Japanese citizens in the world. Whether students are interested in the world or not, proud of their national identity or not, they consistently see themselves as individuals, rather than Japanese people, in the world. This is a major divergence from Monbusho policy. At the same time students, like Monbusho, do not seem to have any great expectations of the international group vis-a-vis the individual. The relationship for students seems to be balanced in favour of individual contribution to the group rather than group functions for the individual.

Although the world group does not appear to have significant functions for the individual, it does have characteristics as a group. Like the immediate group, and in contrast to Monbusho recommendations, unity is at the forefront of these characteristics.

Again, this is not true for all students. Asked for his opinion of foreigners, one student replied that:

> 日本人とは別世界のようなかんじ。
> (I feel that they're people from a different world to Japanese people.)
> (Q4: 77)

In complete contrast, one of his classmates remarks:

> 人類みな兄弟。
> (As the human race, we are all brothers.) (Q4: 80)

This student's appeal to humanity as the common denominator among all people, whatever nationality they are, is a popular one, and reflects theories of global and transcultural identities discussed in section 2.3. The most commonly used term in such comments is 人間 (*ningen*), which echoes the basic ideas of self across all group situations (see chapter 7). For example, this student suggests:

> みんなが外国人を同じ人間としてかんがえていればいいと思う。
> (I think it would be good if everyone thought of foreigners as the same human beings (*ningen*).) (W1: 30)

This theme of unity implies equality in the international sphere just as it did in the immediate world. It also leads to the de-emphasis of national boundaries, in favour of a view of a united world without boundaries. This view is expressed by the head of the Student Council at 一中 in an essay she wrote:

> スペースシャトルにのって宇宙から地球を見た毛利衛さんは、「地球に国境などは見えませんでした 」と言っています。たったひとつの地球です 今私達は国境を超えてお互いに助け合い、支えあっていかなければならないと思います。私もこの地球に住む一員として少しずつちいさなことから行動していきたいです。
> (The astronaut Mamoru Mori says that, looking at the earth from a space shuttle, "I could not see any borders on the earth.". One single earth. Now I think that we have to help and support each other across the borders. I too want to act, little by little, starting from the small things, as one of the members living on this earth.) (F1: 28)

For this student, and others like her, identity of the self in the world has nothing to do with national identity or being a representative of Japan in the world. A world of national boundaries is replaced by a world of no boundaries. In the terminology of chapter 2, national and international identity are subjugated to global identity. Such a view is very different to the Monbusho use of internationalisation to strengthen national identity and reinforce national boundaries. Again, though, this should not be taken as the student view. At the other end of the scale are the students, quoted earlier, who see 'Japanese' and 'international' as mutually exclusive categories, including several students who give as their reason for disliking English, " 日本人だから" (because I'm

Japanese) (e.g. Q5: 805). For these students, national identity seems to be threatened by anything international, including the study of a foreign language. Most students probably lie somewhere between these two poles in their conceptions of the international world and their image of themselves in this world.

10.6 Summary

The basic relationship of self and the group is the relationship demonstrated in the immediate group of the class, club and school. It is a symbiotic relationship in which the individual works for the group, the group works for the individual and both group and individual develop through participation. The expectations of the individual are self-awareness as a member of the group, assumption of roles and responsibilities in the group, commitment and an attachment to the group, and improvement of the group. The expectations of the group are that it will provide status, protection, discipline and responsibility for the individual. Among the shared characteristics of these groups are their emphasis on unity and equality, and the establishment of boundaries separating them from other groups. These are the basic principles of the individual and the group in the immediate environment. At the national and international levels, these principles are applied by Monbusho, school and students to ideas of self in the nation and in the world. However, different elements are applied to different situations by the various parties.

For Monbusho and students, national identity involves the relationship of the self as an individual to the nation. For both Monbusho and students, being Japanese incorporates aspects of all the various models of national identity discussed in chapter 2. Aspects of both the ethnic-genealogical and civic-territorial models proposed by Smith (1991)(see section 2.1) are evident in Monbusho and student interpretations of their own national identity. For example, Monbusho's emphasis on the teaching of the Japanese Constitution leans towards the civic-territorial definitions, while some students' definition of themselves as Japanese because of their appearance leans towards an ethnic-genealogical definition. Likewise, Kellas' (1991) ethnic, social and official models are all apparent in Monbusho and student definitions of self in the nation. The backbone of national identity for both Monbusho and the majority of students is not found in any of these particular models, but in the development of cultural identity (see section 2.1). Cultural identity is held by Monbusho and many students to be synonymous with national identity. This is why Monbusho's efforts to strengthen national identity among students are focused on the aim of protecting and continuing

Japan's culture and traditions. It is also why many students identify themselves as more or less Japanese by their participation in traditional arts or details of their way of life, such as whether they eat mainly Japanese or Western food. Up to this point, there is a high level of consistency between Monbusho and student interpretations of self in the nation. Then the divergence begins. Firstly, Monbusho assumes that the pattern of self and group which is commonly accepted in the immediate environment can be applied wholesale to the national group. For students, this is more problematic. Although they have self-awareness as Japanese people, they do not have the same sense of responsibility, commitment, attachment or engagement in the national group as they do in the immediate group. Neither do they have the same expectations of the national group as they have of the immediate group.

At the international level, too, there is a certain amount of common ground between students and Monbusho. Monbusho and most students agree that internationalisation is desirable. They also agree that one of the key aims of internationalisation should be a contribution to world peace. From the most basic level of self in the world, however, differences emerge. For Monbusho, self as an individual is subjugated to self as a Japanese person, and the sense of the world as a group is very weak. Self as a national citizen is expected to establish and interact from a Japanese *tachiba*, asserting one's Japanese ways of thinking and seeing in the international sphere. Relating this interpretation to the theories explained in section 2.2, Monbusho's view approximates to Hofstede's (1991) opinion that international/intercultural identity is equivalent to the belief in one's own values and the establishment of one's own identity in intercultural encounters. Internationalisation, for Monbusho, goes no further than the early stage of international and intercultural identities discussed in section 2.2.

For students, by contrast, the view of self as an individual in a world group is consistent with views at the immediate and national levels. It is not usurped, in any student data, by a view of self as a Japanese citizen. Naturally, as an individual, a wide range of selves in the world is apparent. In terms of the theories explained in chapter 2, these range from the mononational/monocultural to the global/transcultural. The mononational/monocultural self is the student who thinks s/he cannot be international, and should not even have to learn a foreign language "because s/he's Japanese". For such students, national identity is threatened by anything international. The early international/intercultural stage student may hold a similar view to Monbusho, but as an individual. At the later stage of international/intercultural identities is the student who is "opening his/her mind to the world". Finally, a few students exhibit global/transcultural identity. These are the students who, as defined in section 2.3, are

able to step outside the national boundaries and see themselves as members of the world rather than members of the nation. It is at this stage that students seem to return to the fundamental ideas of self as a *ningen*, explained in chapter 7. This idea, that the largest scale group membership is equivalent to the most basic, personal self, supports Robertson's (1991: 77) definition of globalisation as the universalisation of particularism and the particularisation of universalism (see section 2.3). Among students, then, the range of views of self in the world is complete, and provides a striking contrast to the single view recommended by Monbusho.

Discussion in this chapter has been limited to the construction of identities in the immediate school, national and international groups. This provides a partial, but not complete, picture of how Japanese junior high school students see themselves in the nation and the world. To obtain a fuller picture, it is necessary to examine how the students see not only themselves, but others, and their relationships with those others. The next chapter will, therefore, take a different perspective on self in the immediate school context, and in national and international spheres, turning to look at human relations, both in and out of the group context.

Chapter 11

The relational self

人間関係 (*ningen kankei*, human relations) is a constantly recurring theme in Japanese education from the earliest stages. It is also a theme which is explicitly within the remit of the school and the role of the teacher. One student describes what happened after an incident in which some boys made fun of another student:

> Then our homeroom teacher came. She made all the students sit down there and then. And she asked, "Why, what happened? Did the boy say something that you didn't like or did the boy do something disagreeable to you?". After that, we were all in the classroom. It was our English class. She didn't teach English at all. She talked and talked about the importance of human relations. I saw tears in her eyes (F7:18).

This is not an isolated incident. I witnessed a similar cancellation of a class for the homeroom teacher to talk seriously and emotionally to students about the importance of human relations after a dispute between some classmates about who would be in which group for the year camp (O7: 27).

As explained in chapter 1, human relations are vital to a sense of self, and this is as true in Japan as in any other country, as detailed in chapter 3. This emphasis on human relations appears from the earliest stages of the students' education. In chapter 5, various aspects of human relations in the immediate environment of pre-school and elementary school were discussed. These aspects continue into the junior high school years, with one of the four content areas of the moral education guidelines, for example, dealing with 他の人とのかかわりに関すること (things relating to involvement with other people) (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989e: 26). This is clearly distinguished from the section quoted in chapter 10 which deals with matters relating to membership of groups and society. Obviously, there are connections between membership of groups and human relations, but human relations are not governed purely by group boundaries. Human relations within the group are complemented by human relations across and despite group boundaries.

At the junior high school stage, human relations extend to include relations with people in other countries and relations with unknown others. These relations with others outside the immediate environment are critical in the individual student's construction of his/her national, international, global and cultural identities. This chapter will begin by exploring some of the basic ideals, attitudes and practices of human relations in the immediate environment of the class and school. It will then go on to examine how far these ideas are transferred to ideas of human relations in spheres outside the immediate environment. As in chapter 10, Monbusho and student views and interpretations of human relations in the international sphere will be separated, as significant differences emerge between the ideas of Monbusho and the ideas of the majority of students.

Unlike chapter 10, there will be no section dealing with human relations in the spatial sphere between the immediate environment and the world. The reason for this is simply that human relations in this sphere are not subjected to comment or discussion by Monbusho or by students in the data I have. Rather than artificially imposing discussion for which there are no supporting data, this sphere will be left blank.

11.1 Human relations in the immediate environment

As mentioned above, human relations in the immediate class and school environment are the subject of explicit concern and teaching in junior high schools. The subject of "human relations" is difficult to define, covering as it does most aspects of life. Broadly divided, however, human relations as they appear at 一中 and the other schools I was in range over three realms of being. These three realms recycle the categories which appeared in chapter 9, and are:

- ways of feeling
- ways of thinking and seeing
- ways of acting and speaking

"Ways of feeling" encompass the emotional aspects of human relations, and the basic ideals upon which human relations are constructed. At the root of all human relations is a respect for life. This is a principle espoused particularly by Monbusho, and which lies at the heart of the moral education guidelines, as explained in the general guidelines of the 1989 reforms (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989a: 31):

> 道徳教育の目標は、教育基本法及び学校教育法に定められた教育の根本精神に基づき、人間尊重の精神と生命に対する畏敬の念を家庭、学校、その他社会における具体的な生活の中に生かし・・
> (The aim of moral education, rooted in the basic spirit of the Foundational Law of Education and the School Education Law, is to [cultivate] a spirit of respect for humans and a sense of awe and respect for life which is promoted in the concrete daily life of the family, the school and the rest of society...)

From a deep respect for life emerges 人間愛 (*ningen ai*, love of human beings). This love of human beings is at the heart of human relations and of the emotional development of the individual student. In the guidelines for moral education, 文部省, (*Monbusho*, 1989e: 27) explains 人間愛 (*ningen ai*) in this way:

> 他の人とのかかわりの中で、温かい人間愛の精神を深め、これを身に付けることは人間としてきわめて大切なことである。人間愛は、人間を尊重する精神、生命に対する畏敬の念に基づく・・

> (In relations with other people, it is extremely important, as a human being, to acquire and deepen a spirit of warm love for humans. Love for humans is based on a spirit of respect for humans and a sense of awe and respect for life...)

This love for humans does not only remain an abstract Monbusho ideal. It is also apparent as a principle of the way in which teachers should relate to students. For instance, a prefectural newsletter advised teachers to understand children with love and sympathy (F9:1,3). At the next level down the educational hierarchy, a teacher asks his students:

> あなたはあと二年間の中学校生活の中で・・他人を愛することができるようになるでしょうか。
> (In the two years of junior high school life you have left... I wonder whether you will become able to love other people.) (D10: 9)

This emphasis on the way of feeling towards others endows human relationships with a depth which roots all other aspects of relationships with others. The outward manifestations of this love and respect for others are seen in 思いやり (*omoiyari*, consideration for and kindness to others). Again, consideration and kindness are advocated at all levels of education. For Monbusho, the connection is made explicitly (文部省 1989e: 29):

> 思いやりの心の根底には、人間尊重の精神に基づく人間に対する深い理解と共感がなければならない。
> (At the foundation of a considerate heart, there has to be a deep understanding of and sympathy for human beings based on a spirit of respect for human beings.)

At the school level, the development of 思いやり in students is part of the main school aims of 一中 (F2:1,4). Consideration for and kindness towards others is closely linked to the development of empathy, as described in section 9.3. In messages from teachers to students, there is frequent reference to the desirability of consideration for and kindness towards others. For example, one teacher gives the following message to students:

> 人に対する思いやりを忘れずに、いろんなことに”挑戦”してみて下さい
> (Please try not to forget to be considerate of others, and take on various challenges.) (D9: 37)

Hand-in-hand with the consideration of others is the feeling of gratitude towards others. Gratitude involves consideration of what the other person has done for the self. 文部省, (*Monbusho*, 1989e: 27) defines the importance of gratitude like this:

> 自分が現在あるのは、多くの人々によって支えられてきたからであることを自覚すれば、おのずから他の人々に対して感謝の心が生まれるであろう。したがって、感謝の心をもって接することの

> 意味とその在り方について深く考えさせるよう、指導することが大切である。
> (If one realises that one exists today because of the support of many people, then a heart full of gratitude towards other people should naturally emerge. Consequently, it is important to guide students to think deeply about the meaning and the way of interacting with others with a heart of gratitude.)

At 一中, the feeling of gratitude is considered important enough to be included as one of the "Five Hearts" motto of the school. This leads to weekly school aims such as the following:

> 「ありがとうございました」という感謝の心を持とう。
> (Let us have a heart of gratitude which says, "Thank you".) (F1: 12)

The development of this "heart of gratitude" is the focus of specific lessons. For example, the stated aim of one moral education class taught at 一中 is:

> 人の親切に対しては、それを当然だと思うのではなく、常に感謝の心を忘れずそして、思いやりの気持ちを持って人に接しようとする態度を育てる
> (To foster an attitude of not taking people's kindness for granted, but to remember at all times a heart of gratitude, and to interact with people with a spirit of consideration.) (F2: 12)

Transferred to the student level, this notion is seen in the aims of the student committee for school lunch. One aim is:

> 給食のおばさんの苦労を考えて残さず食べる。
> (To think of the work put in by the ladies who make our school lunch, and to eat lunch without leaving anything.) (F1:1,5)

From Monbusho through school to the students, then, respect for and love of other people is encouraged through feelings of consideration and gratitude. The final way of feeling which is important in the immediate environment is trust. Trust is advocated between students, and between students and teachers, by Monbusho, school and students. 文部省 (*Monbusho*, 1989a: 33) declares that school education is built upon these relationships of trust. At 一中, there is agreement that a relationship of trust between the teacher and student and between students is the foundation of good education. So it is that a message from the principal to the teachers urges them to:

> ・・生徒から信頼されるように努める・・
> (strive to be trusted by the students...) (F3:13,1)

A similar refrain is found in the year aim for second year students, which states the aim of teachers for this year should be:

> ・・相互信頼に基づく豊かな人間関係を築き、ともに向上しようとする生徒を育成する。

> (to bring up students who can build rich human relations based on mutual trust, and who can improve together.) (F3: 16,2)

Along with feelings of respect, love, consideration and gratitude, then, trust is a building block upon which to interact with others. These ways of feeling provide the depth, the foundations, upon which human relations are constructed. It is probably for this reason that Monbusho, schools and students are all concerned with the basic way students feel, or ought to feel, towards other people.

"Ways of thinking and seeing" include attitudes towards others and the individual's approach towards interaction with others. At the centre of ways of thinking and seeing, running parallel to the respect for life which is at the root of ways of feeling, is a respect for the other. This is a theme which is apparent at Monbusho, school and student levels, but which is particularly stressed by Monbusho. The importance of respect for the other appears repeatedly in Monbusho documents, in guidelines for subjects as diverse as P.E. (文部省 1989b: 78) and Japanese (文部省 1989d: 58). The most comprehensive coverage, however, is given in the guidelines for moral education. One sub-section within the area of relations with others deals with the following theme:

> それぞれの個性や立場を尊重し、いろいろなものの見方や考え方があることを理解して、謙虚に他に学ぶ広い心をもつようにする。
> (To respect various individualities and positions, to understand that there are various ways of seeing and thinking about things, and to have a broad mind which humbly learns from others.) (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989e: 30)

Here, respect for the other is explicitly linked to acceptance of diverse ways of thinking and seeing and a willingness to change one's own ways of thinking and seeing (see section 9.5). In school, this link is not made so explicit, but respect for the other continues to be emphasised. For example, one monthly student guidance aim at 一中 begins:

> 相手の人格を尊重し・・
> (To respect the other's personality..) (F2: 3)

Closely related to this respect for others is the concept of making the other important. This appears more frequently in the school than in Monbusho documents. One element of the "Five Hearts" motto at 一中 is:

> 「おはよう」と言う、人を大切にする心。
> (The heart which makes other people important by saying, "Good morning".) (F2: 1,5)

This idea of making other people important is reinforced throughout the school among pupils and teachers, and is also included in letters to parents, as in the following example:

> 全員が大切な仲間であることを考えさせ、一人一人を大切にする気持ちを育てたい。
> (We want to make students think that they are all important to each other as schoolmates, and to foster a spirit of making each individual important.) (F5: 3,6)

The encouragement of this way of seeing others as important is complemented by an emphasis on looking for the good and potential in other people, rather than picking out faults. Self-reflection, as explained in chapter 8, means identifying and correcting one's own shortcomings rather than the faults of others. This coupling of looking for one's own faults with focusing on others' good points is rooted in the combination of Buddhist ideals of self-improvement and Shinto ideals of inherent goodness, as discussed in chapter 3. In practice, the ideal of looking for goodness in others is illustrated in a prefectural newsletter (F9: 1,2), which advises teachers that:

> ・・子供のよさや可能性を生かす教育の実現に努めることが大切になってきます。
> (It is becoming important to strive for the realisation of education which brings out children's goodness and potential.)

In a similar way, in a speech outlining his own philosophy of education, the principal of 一中 says that:

> 人のいい面をみつけていく努力をしていきたい。人間は長短あわせもつもの、アラひろいをせずに、その人その人のよさを見る目をもちたい
> (I want to make a real effort to find the good side of people. Human beings have both strengths and weaknesses, and I want to have eyes which do not focus on the faults, but which see the good in each person.) (F9: 4)

Looking for the good in other people, and making them important, implies a view of human relations which are built on tolerance and thinking the best of others. Indeed, a section in the Japanese textbook on how to take part in discussion explicitly advises students to think of the other people in the discussion as friends (光村図書, *Mitsumura Tosho*, 1996b: 17). This emphasis on harmony in human relationships - which is what respect for the other, making the other important and thinking the best of the other converge towards - does not necessarily lead to conformity, as the *nihonjinron* theories discussed in chapter 4 suggest. Of course, this is a possibility, but an alternative construction, and one which is portrayed as more desirable by Monbusho and schools, is that respect for the other and tolerance of the other lead to an acceptance of individual

differences without prejudice or discrimination. In the moral education guidelines (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989e: 36), this concept appears as the following aim:

> 正義を重んじ、だれに対しても公正、公平にし、社会連帯の精神をもって差別や偏見のないよりよい社会の実現に尽くすように努める。
> (To hold justice in high esteem, to treat anybody fairly and equally, to have a spirit of social solidarity and to strive to do all one can towards the realisation of an even better society which has no discrimination and no prejudice.)

This is the overall picture of the way of seeing others without prejudice or discrimination. For the reality of what this means to individual students, this essay provides one illustration:

> ...Before I thought, "Same is good. Different is bad." But now I respect differences. In my class there are many students who have their individualities. One boy is a good athlete, but he isn't good at studying. Another girl is good at neither sports nor study, but she is very kind. All of them are different, yet they each have their good points. Nowadays there are two big problems in junior high schools in our country. Some students refuse to attend school and some students suffer from bullying. I think that the biggest reason is that we students seek sameness and drive out people who are different. If we realize the importance of difference, surely it will be a great first step to the solution. Let's respect differences without prejudice. (F7: 2,30)

This student's essay demonstrates the switch between the two interpretations of harmonious human relations outlined above. She lucidly describes her change of way of thinking from harmonious human relations as conformity, or sameness, to harmonious human relations as tolerance of differences without prejudice. Both interpretations are based on the same premises of respect for the other and looking for the good points of the other. From shared foundations, however, very different ways of thinking and seeing are possible. This student shares with Monbusho the idea that human relations should be founded on respect for differences without prejudice. Other students, as she suggests, still see harmonious human relations as sameness, or conformity. These various interpretations lead to various ways of seeing and thinking about human relations, other people and the self.

"Ways of acting and speaking" refers to human relations as they are actually practised in the immediate environment. These are the directly observable aspects of human relations. The class and school context, by its very immediacy, engenders ways of acting and speaking which are based on direct communication and contact between two or more people. In this environment of face-to-face, immediate contact and communication, ways of speaking to others assume a position of importance to

Monbusho, school and students alike. At the Monbusho level, one part of the moral education guidelines (文部省 1989e: 26) asserts that students should:

> 礼儀の意義を理解し、時と場に応じた適切な言動ができるようにする。
> (understand the significance of courtesy, and become able to act and speak appropriately to the time and place.)

In the discussion of this aim, Monbusho emphasises that outward courtesy should be based on the feeling of respect and love for the other (敬愛, *keiai*, love and respect) which featured earlier in this section. The importance of courtesy in speech for human relations is also taken up in the guidelines for Japanese (文部省 1989d: 77), where the following comment appears:

> 言葉には、人間関係を作り、円滑にさせる働きもある。あいさつ語は、その代表的な例である。
> (Language also works to form human relations and to make them run smoothly. The *aisatsu* are a typical example.)

This comment contributes to an understanding of the importance attached to *aisatsu* in the school environment. *Aisatsu* are the greetings and ritual phrases which punctuate all interactions and events, featuring at the beginning and end of the school day, the beginning and end of each lesson, the beginning and end of cleaning, school lunch and so on. In this sense, they serve a ritual function of marking order and change as well as the function of reaffirming and smoothing relations with others. As a school, 一中 prides itself on its reputation for good *aisatsu*, and this reputation is often quoted to the students as an example to live up to (O7: 5). The importance of *aisatsu* to human relations is illustrated by an observation note made in relation to an 一中 school assembly:

> The 週番の先生 [teacher on duty for the week] says that if students can manage「おはようございます」[Good morning] and「ありがとうございました」[Thank you] properly, then they are already half way to establishing good 人間関係 [human relations]. (O7: 31)

As for Monbusho, surface conformity alone is not enough. The surface forms are mere expressions of deeper feelings. So it is that the "Five Hearts" motto of the school specifically links everyday *aisatsu* to the ways of feeling, thinking and seeing which should lie behind them (F2:1,5, quoted in full in section 7.2). Students themselves also take *aisatsu* seriously. One of the aims of the student "daily life committee" is:

> すすんであいさつができるように心がける。
> (To try to be able to do *aisatsu* willingly.) (F1:1,5)

Aisatsu in particular and ways of speaking in general are thus interpreted as the outward manifestation of inner feelings and attitudes towards other people. The emphasis on

courtesy as outward expression is a reflection of the emphasis on respect for life, human beings and the other as ideals of inner feelings and attitudes.

As far as ways of acting are concerned, the most common recurring theme in the formation and maintenance of human relations is co-operation. This theme is evident in Monbusho documents (e.g. 文部省 1989b: 77), but is even more prominent in school and student data. Co-operation between students and between teachers and students forms part of the school aims of 一中 (F2:1,4), and is carried through into teaching aims (F2:1,5) and student guidance aims (F2:3). Club activities also play an important role in the development of co-operation, and this role is recognised in a prefectural newsletter about the aims of clubs to teachers:

> 望ましい人間関係の育成を図り、生徒同士が互いに協力し合う活動が展開されるようにする。
> (To aim for the nurturing of desirable human relations and to develop activities in which students co-operate with each other.) (F9: 1,3)

Clubs are only one arena for the development of co-operation. The class is also significant. This student describes the spirit of co-operation developed in her class through their joint construction of a huge papier-mache figure (named "Aniki") for the school festival:

> ・・「あにき」をつくったことで、みんなで協力することは、すごいことなんだということがわかったような気がしました。
> (Through making "Aniki", I felt that I'd understood what a wonderful thing it is when everyone co-operates.) (D9: 16)

A corollary of co-operation is the concept of mutual support and encouragement between students. Again, this is considered important at all levels, from Monbusho to students. In the moral education guidelines, 文部省 (*Monbusho*, 1989e: 28) urges the development of mutual encouragement in the school environment. This atmosphere of mutual support and encouragement is valued by students at 一中, as this extract, written by a third year student as the third years retired from club activities to concentrate on preparation for high school entrance exams, demonstrates:

> 部活のチームワークを今度はクラスに移して、何の大会やテストの時でもみんなはげましあっていけば、きっと明日は見えると思います
> (If we can now transfer the teamwork of club activities to the class, and all encourage each other at times of competitions and tests, then I'm sure that we'll be able to see tomorrow.) (W3: 17)

In the immediate environment of class, club and school, then, co-operation and mutual support and encouragement form the bases of human relations. For many students, the most important form of human relationship at junior high school is friendship. Again,

friendship appears in the Monbusho moral education guidelines (文部省 1989e: 28), where it is advocated in the following aim:

> 友情の尊さを理解して心から信頼できる友情をもち、互いに励まし合い、高め合うようにする。
> (To understand the preciousness of friendship and to have friends who can be trusted from the heart, to give and receive encouragement and to raise and be raised by others.)

At the school level, students are encouraged to reflect on friendship through moral education classes which are related to the above aim. The following observation notes provide an example of how one such lesson is actually taught:

> In moral education, the students have been given a questionnaire about friends - how many they have, how they choose friends (homeroom, club activities, elementary school), what makes them friends (fun, same character, help in trouble, to play, to support each other). Then, after reading an article, they discuss/ write about how they could find a real friend. (O1: 33)

Friendship is thus an explicit concern of Monbusho and the school. For students, though, it is not only a concern, but can be the centre-stage feature of junior high school life. As this student remarks in her review of her first year of junior high school life:

> 今は、友達といっしょに話したり、遊んだりするのが一番楽しい。
> (Now, the most enjoyable part is talking and playing with my friends.)
> (D18: 32)

As well as making school an enjoyable place to be, friends have a vital role in the process of self-development described in chapter 8. This student describes how important friends have been to her during her experience of club activities:

> 部活で１番学んだことは「友情」です　なんでもはなせる「仲間」をもちました　・・今までのつらい練習で、何度やめようと思ったかわかりません　でも「仲間」が勇気づけてくれました。
> (The thing I learned most through club activities is "friendship". I had "clubmates" I could talk to about anything... In the hard training we've been through, I don't know how many times I thought about giving up. But my "clubmates" gave me courage.) (W3: 35)

Many other students echo what an important role friends play in their junior high school life. Human relations are not so happy for all students, however. At 一中 and the other schools I was in, as in many other schools in Japan, there are problems with bullying. There are also problems with refusal to attend school. Because the junior high school assumes responsibility for most spheres of the student's development, with students spending 40-60+ hours a week at school, problems with human relations mean that life can become very difficult for the individual. This is the other side of the human relations coin.

For all students, then, human relations play a key role in the immediate environment of junior high school life. For most students, the development of human relations is a constructive, fulfilling process. At the individual level, it is a process which involves the development, improvement, adaptation and changing of one's own ways of feeling about others, seeing others, thinking about others, speaking to others and interacting with others. In this sense, relations with others are vital to the development of self described in chapter 8. It is the self, rather than others, which needs to be changed to form successful human relations. Still, the formation of human relations is not only an introspective process. It is the self's ways of feeling, seeing, thinking and acting which should be developed and, if necessary, changed, but the focus of attention remains the other. The self is extended to reach the other.

11.2 Human relations in the world - the Monbusho view

In this section, the sphere of human relations will be expanded from the immediate environment to Monbusho views, as evidenced in the 1989 reform guidelines, in the international context. The structure of the section will follow the structure of section 11.1, with sequential focusing on ways of feeling, ways of seeing/thinking and ways of acting.

In the ways of feeling, or the basic ideals which underpin human relations in the international context, Monbusho focuses almost exclusively on world peace. Like friendship in the last section, peace is a theme which cuts across ways of feeling, thinking, seeing and acting. As portrayed by Monbusho, however, it is an ideal, and so it is included in this section. It is an ideal which is stressed in many areas of the curriculum, and which is powerfully expressed. For example, in guidelines on the teaching of the history of the two world wars, 文部省 (*Monbusho* 1989f: 80) recommends:

> 世界の働きと我が国との関連を重点的にとらえさせるとともに、国際協調と国際平和の実現に努めることが大切であることに着目させるよう留意する。
> (To teach students the main points of the movements in the world and their connection with our country, and to ensure that attention is drawn to the fact that it is important to strive for the realisation of international co-operation and international peace.)

Similarly, in civic education, Monbusho (1989f: 116) states that students should be encouraged to develop an attitude of co-operation and zeal towards efforts to prevent

war and promote world peace. In both these cases, the teaching of factual knowledge (about the two world wars and pacifism in the Japanese Constitution) is heavily imbued with the moral element of promoting world peace. The ideal is very strong. Nevertheless, it remains an ideal. Students are required to realise the desirability of the national position on world peace, and to develop an attitude of approval. Yet the ideal remains depersonalised. There is no 'other', no human relations. The ideal of world peace is valuable in its own right, and has potential to be the basis for international human relations. Until it becomes more personalised, however, it is not a clear foundation for human relations across the international sphere.

In terms of ways of thinking about and seeing people, the views Monbusho applies to the international sphere do share some common ground with the views expressed in the immediate environment. Monbusho emphasises respect for other countries, just as it advocated respect for the other in the immediate environment. In the general guidelines (文部省 1989a: 7), the following comment appears:

> 国際化が進む中にあって、次代に生きる日本人を育成するためには、これからの学校教育において、諸外国の人々の生活や文化を理解し尊重する・・
> (As internationalisation progresses, in order to raise the next generation of Japanese people, school education from now should [promote] understanding of and respect for the way of life and culture of people of various foreign countries.)

The terms are similar and yet there is a significant difference between this context and the concept of respect for the other advocated in the immediate environment. In this, the international sphere, it is not the person who is to be respected, but his/her way of life and culture. This is true throughout the Monbusho guidelines. Respect for foreign countries' symbols (文部省 1989f: 116), art (文部省 1989b: 73), languages and cultures (文部省 1989c: 90) and so on is enthusiastically advocated, but respect for real people is noticeably absent. Once again, the human aspect of international relations has been removed. Compared with the immediate environment, what remains is a rather depersonalised vision of the other and relations with the other.

Aside from respect for foreign countries, Monbusho urges the development of interest in and understanding of these countries. To some extent, this parallels the idea of making the other important in the immediate environment, in that showing interest in someone or something makes that person or thing important to the individual. The parallel is only partial, however, and should not be stretched beyond its natural limits. Again, the focus of interest is often the language, culture, history, traditions and so on of the people of foreign countries rather than the people themselves. There are a few exceptions to

this generalisation. For example, although the general aim for foreign languages only includes the development of interest in culture and language in abstract terms (文部省, *Monbusho*, 1989c: 6), part of the discussion of the first year aim reads as follows:

> 英語そのものの面白さに気付き、あるいは、自分たちも含めて、外国の人々の生活やものの考え方など言語や文化に対する関心を深めることになり、ひいては国際理解の基礎を培うことに役立つものといえる。
> (Realising that English is interesting, and deepening an interest in things relating to language and culture, such as foreign people's way of life and way of thinking about things, will serve to cultivate the foundations of international understanding.)

Although there is still no mention of changing one's own ways of thinking as there was in the immediate environment, this quote is noteworthy for its personalisation of international human relations. An interest in people's ways of thinking requires an interest in those people as human beings, and international relations are thus restored to a person to person level, even if there is no direct contact. However, this is one of the rare references to this concept in the foreign language guidelines. In fact, although "international understanding" as an undefined concept appears in the general aims and in the speaking and listening sections of year aims, it vanishes completely in the sections which deal with the content of the subject. Content areas are divided into reading, writing, speaking and listening, with further sections on teaching pronunciation, handwriting, punctuation etc., and long lists of specific grammar points and vocabulary to be covered. At no point, by contrast, is any hint given of what is actually meant by international understanding or how it is to be achieved or incorporated in foreign language teaching. In spite of its potential and appearance as the most promising subject in terms of humanly human relations in the international sphere, even the guidelines for foreign languages do little beyond vague aims to promote such human relations.

Another way of thinking which is largely confined to the guidelines for foreign languages is the idea of approaching foreign countries and languages without prejudice or discrimination. This concept is explained in the foreign language guidelines (文部省 1989c: 90):

> 他国民や他民族に対する先入観や固定観念などを取り除くこと、文化の多様性や価値の多様性に気付かせ、異文化を受容する態度を育てること・・
> (To dispel prejudices, fixed ideas and suchlike regarding other national people and other races, to make [students] realise the variety of cultures and variety of values, and to foster an attitude of acceptance of different cultures...)

This quote is notably less abstract than those above, and requires individual engagement by students to change their own ideas. The personalised element of this aspect of human relations is further emphasised by a quote from the same document (ibid. p.7), which asserts that:

> 国際理解とは、基本的には、世界の国々や人々について偏見なく正しく理解することである・・
> (International understanding is, basically, understanding the countries and people of the world properly and without prejudice...)

This is the only aspect of the Monbusho guidelines which consistently refers to direct, personal ways of seeing others in the international sphere, or direct human relations. As mentioned in the commentary on this aspect in the immediate environment, the concept of harmonious human relations built on the respect for differences without prejudice (as opposed to conformity) is one which is not yet universally accepted, but which is vigorously promoted by Monbusho. Indeed, Monbusho defines the identification of differences between Japanese and foreigners as an important step to international understanding, as in this example, again taken from the foreign language guidelines (文部省 1989c: 88), in a section on choice of materials:

> 外国語の学習を通して、外国の人々の生活や風俗習慣の相違に対して一層の関心を持たせ、文化の多様性に着目させることが必要であり・・
> (In the study of foreign languages, it is necessary to arouse even greater interest in the differences of foreign people's way of life, customs and habits, and to draw attention to the variety of cultures.)

This kind of argument, based on differences, also serves to mark national boundaries and establish the Japanese *tachiba*, thus linking it with the arguments presented in chapters 9 and 10. Perhaps the importance of this concept to Monbusho has caused its wholesale import to the international sphere. Alternatively, perhaps this is one area in which Monbusho does not perceive direct human relations between individuals as a threat to the Japanese individual's sense of national identity.

With the exception of this last aspect, then, in terms of ways of thinking and seeing, Monbusho tends to depersonalise international relations. The last part of this section will turn to ways of acting and speaking. As in the immediate environment, Monbusho is concerned with courtesy and politeness. An illustration of this international courtesy is found in the guidelines for civic education (文部省 1989f: 116):

> 国旗及び国歌の意義並びにそれらを相互に尊重することが国際的な儀礼であることを理解させ、それらを尊重する態度を育てるよう配慮すること。
> (Consideration should be given to making [students] understand the significance of national flags and anthems and the fact that mutual

> respect of these is international courtesy, and to fostering an attitude of respect to this.)

Again, the courtesy advocated by Monbusho is directed towards the symbols of a country rather than the people of the country. An exception to this general rule is found in the guidelines for moral education (文部省 1989e: 26). Monbusho commentary on the aim relating to courtesy, which was mentioned in section 11.1, ends with the following statement:

> 外国にもそれぞれの国に応じた礼儀作法がある。国際社会の一員として外国の人々に接する機会が多くなった今日、外国の礼儀についても理解を深め、外国の人々に正しく接することができるように指導することが大切である。
> (Foreign countries have different forms of courtesy appropriate to that country. Today, as a member of international society, opportunities to interact with foreign people have become greater, so it is important to deepen students' understanding of foreign countries' courtesy and guide them to be able to interact with foreign people appropriately.)

This quote is uncharacteristic in two ways. Firstly, it applies principles of the immediate environment directly to the international sphere, focusing on human relations with real foreign people. Secondly, it includes a rare reference to the student as "a member of international society" rather than "a Japanese person in international society", giving the student direct access and communication with the international sphere. This comment could not be cited as a typical example of Monbusho attitudes to self in the world, but it is quoted here to prove that it does, at least, exist.

In the immediate world, co-operation is an important aspect of human relations. 国際協調 (*kokusai kyouchou,* international co-operation) is just as popular in the international sphere. One of the aims of civic education (文部省 1989f: 91), for example, includes the following:

> ・・国際協調の精神を養う・・
> (to nurture a spirit of international co-operation)

In fact, in most cases where it is mentioned in the Monbusho documents, what is being advocated is "a spirit of international co-operation" rather than international co-operation itself. This mirrors the Monbusho attitude to international understanding, as portrayed in the foreign language aims (see above). International understanding, and a spirit of international co-operation, are held up as ideals or aims, but there is very little detail in the Monbusho guidelines on how they can actually be put into practice by the junior high school students. Of course, the ideals are essential, but the practice is also important. The area of the curriculum which offers greatest potential for international co-operation in practice is probably 特別活動 (*tokubetsu katsudou*, Special Activities). This area encompasses class activities, Student Council activities, club activities and

school events. The Monbusho guidelines for Special Activities (文部省 1989g: 4) contain a single reference to internationalisation, which is this:

> 現代及び将来における我が国の国際的な位置付けや役割を考えるとき、日本人は今後ますます国際性を身に付けていかねばならないが、そのためには、国民一人一人が日本を愛し、日本人としての自覚を持たねばならない。
> (Thinking of our country's present and future international position and role, Japanese people will have to become increasingly international. For that purpose, each national citizen must love Japan and have self-awareness as a Japanese person.)

There is no reference here even to the spirit, let alone the practice, of international co-operation. Instead, Monbusho's attitude seems to be a defence of national boundaries in response to the perceived threat of international invasion. As in other areas, and in contrast to the co-operation of the immediate environment, the spirit of international co-operation remains a depersonalised ideal.

The international equivalent of mutual support in the immediate environment is found in the idea of support and contribution to developing countries and so on in the international sphere. The difference is that this is uni-directional support, with the contribution being made from Japan to the other country. One point to note here is that this kind of contribution is usually couched in terms such as the following, used in the moral education guidelines (文部省 1989e: 42):

> ・・人類の幸福に貢献するように努める。
> (to strive to contribute to the well-being of mankind.)

As in other aspects of international relations, the "well-being of mankind" is an abstract ideal, rendering the "other", the recipient of the contribution, devoid of personhood.

Finally, the friendship which played such an important part of human relations in the immediate environment is virtually absent from the international sphere. There is one reference in the Monbusho guidelines to friendship across national borders, and that is to the role of art in promoting international friendship (文部省 1989b: 74). The absence of international friendship as an element of international relations is actually not that surprising. Friendship, by its very definition, is based on the human aspect of relations, the direct contact, communication and relationship between one person and another. Given Monbusho's depersonalisation of international relations, and focus on abstract ideals rather than practice, it is natural that international friendship should not be a feature of the national policy of internationalisation.

For Monbusho, then, the ways of feeling, thinking, seeing and acting in the international sphere are dominated by ideals of international understanding, co-operation, courtesy and contribution to human welfare and world peace. All of these aspects remain ideals. In contrast to the guidelines for the immediate environment, Monbusho rarely suggests or recommends any concrete measures for achieving these aims. The confinement of these concepts to the level of ideals by Monbusho discourages any idea of active, direct engagement by the individual student in international society. This is a sharp contrast to the Monbusho recommendations concerning human relations in the immediate environment, which focused on individual development of personal traits (kindness, love, trust etc.) and active involvement (friendship, co-operation etc.). For Monbusho, the level of consistency of human relations between the immediate environment and the international sphere is not particularly high. Student views are somewhat different, and will be the subject of the next section.

11.3 Human relations in the world - student views

This section focuses on student views of the self in relation to others in the international sphere. As already stressed, there is no generalisable "student view", and this section aims to present something of the scope and variety of individual students' views, interpretations and ideas. The section will follow the structure of section 11.1, discussing students' ways of feeling, seeing/thinking and acting as evidenced in the data I collected.

Like Monbusho, many students consider that one of the basic ideals of international relations is world peace. As mentioned in section 10.5, this is the aspect of internationalisation which is agreed upon most consistently by Monbusho and students. Thus, in suggestions for the promotion of internationalisation, students make comments such as the following:

> どの国も戦争をしない
> (No country should make war.) (W1: 14)

> 戦争などあらそいごとをやめて、いろいろな国と交流をふかめていけばいいんじゃないか。
> (Wouldn't it be better if wars and disputes could stop, and exchange with various countries could be deepened?) (W1: 33)

Like Monbusho, this seems to be an ideal held by most students as an ideal. Students rarely mention their own role in contributing to world peace. The transition from

abstract ideal to personal concern, however, is experienced by some students, such as this boy from 一中:

> One day this summer, I happened to be watching television. To tell the truth, my mother was watching it. I was not interested in the kind of program that says 'love and peace' or something like that... I thought there was no relation between 'peace' and 'love' and my daily life. Then, suddenly, one shocking scene plunged into my eyes from the screen. A little girl was sitting there with bony arms and legs. Some flies were on her face but she didn't have enough energy to sweep them away. Her mother was just gazing at her with a lonely, sad look. (F7: 1,14)

This personalisation of the themes of world peace and love (which, incidentally, was triggered by a television programme rather than any experience at school) prompts the boy to research individually the problem of starvation. Although this student had undoubtedly been exposed to, and probably agreed in principle with, the ideals of world peace and love, it is only when he becomes aware of the human element of suffering in other countries that these ideals come to mean something real to him, that he sees the relation, as he says, between peace and love and his daily life. International ideals have to be humanised before they become meaningful.

An idea which appears among students but which is rare in the Monbusho documents in the international context is the idea of empathy, or the ability to understand and feel what another person is understanding and feeling. Empathy plays an important role in the immediate environment (see section 9.3) and, along with the consideration and thoughtfulness described in section 11.1, is vital to human relations. Some students extend this concept of empathy in the immediate environment to the international sphere. This girl describes international understanding as:

> 外人を差別せず相手の気持ちになって考えてあげる。
> (Not to discriminate against foreigners, but to feel how the other feels and think in that way.) (W1: 3)

One student provides an account of how this kind of empathy (feeling how the other feels) actually takes place at an individual level:

> ぼくは話しをしていて思ったのですがとても楽しいしなんだか自分が外国の人になったようなきぶんになるからふしぎでおもしろいと思う
> (What I think about talking to foreigners is that it's good fun, and somehow you have the feeling that you become a foreigner too, so it's strange and interesting.) (Q4: 35)

Again, this is a very personal concept of the human relations in the international sphere. For students, it seems that the Monbusho distinction between the ideas of the immediate environment and those of the international sphere is not a valid one.

A similar phenomenon is seen in student advocation of mutual trust as a foundation of international human relations. Trust was emphasised in the immediate environment by Monbusho and students alike as crucial to human relations, but it disappears in Monbusho discussions of the international sphere. For students, by contrast, it is carried through from immediate to international human relations. In definitions of what internationalisation is, several students echoed the simple comment of this boy:

> 互いを信じる。
> (Trusting each other.) (W1: 24)

For most of the students who expressed their ideas, then, ways of feeling across the immediate and international spheres are remarkably consistent. Human relations remain human and personal, voiced in concepts such as trust and empathy, as opposed to the abstract ideals of Monbusho.

Turning to ways of seeing and thinking about others in the international sphere, a similar trend is observable among many students. Respect for the other did not appear as a significant theme among the data collected from students, in contrast to the Monbusho emphasis on respect. However, some students recycled the theme of the immediate environment of looking for good in others. One girl's comments on what internationalisation involves include the following:

> 他国のよい所を見つけ・・
> (Find the good points of other countries...) (W1: 31)

Many more students espouse the view that an interest in foreign countries and people is a desirable thing. In a questionnaire (Q5) designed to elicit students' attitudes to studying English (see appendix 2), students were asked to say why they were/ were not interested in learning English. Many students who expressed a high level of interest in English echoed the following comments:

> 外国にきょうみがある
> (I'm interested in foreign countries.) (Q5: 107)

> 他の国の文化や暮らしなどが知られてすごくたのしい。
> (It's really good to be able to know about other countries' cultures and life and so on) (Q5: 481)

These are general statements. Even more students declared that their motivation to learn English was due to an interest in foreign people rather than foreign countries and culture in general. These students' views will feature later in this section, but a couple of examples will give a taste of the surge of similar comments, all witness to students' interest in the international sphere:

他の国の人と接するのはとても楽しい。もっともっとたくさんいろんな事を教えてもらいたい。
(It's really good meeting people from other countries. I want to learn more and more about lots of different things.) (*Q5: 281*)

英語は、外国の人たちと話せるからすき。
(I like English because it means you can talk with foreigners.) (*Q5: 680*)

For most of these students, interest in foreign countries and languages is inextricably linked with the human relations aspect, the potential for coming into contact with and communicating in the foreign language. A few points regarding the findings from this questionnaire, which was responded to by students in all three years of junior high school, should be stressed. The first relates to motivation. Students who expressed interest in foreign countries, cultures and people invariably placed themselves at the upper end of a 5-point scale of liking English. By contrast, students who stated that they did not like English usually made no reference to the international context of the subject, but focused on the difficulty of learning grammar or memorising vocabulary. As far as motivation goes, the international element of English is a big plus point. Unfortunately, as pointed out in section 11.2, the international understanding element which appears in Monbusho's foreign language aims is not carried through to its discussion of content. Instead, the focus is purely on the mastery and memorisation of linguistic structures. This is compounded by high school entrance exams, which lay down many requirements for linguistic understanding, but none for international or cultural understanding. The result becomes evident in questionnaire responses. While a majority of first year students (specifically, first term students) express enthusiasm for English because of its international element, such comments dwindle with experience, and the majority of third years no longer see the international element of English, buried as it is under the mass of factual memorisation demanded by the entrance exams. These points deserve further attention in their own right, but their significance is limited here to their effect on students' interest in foreign countries and people (see appendix 2).

In common with Monbusho and with ways of seeing in the immediate environment, many students quote the ideal of approaching foreigners without prejudice or discrimination. As one student declares, when asked for her opinion of foreigners:

差別があっていやだ。
I hate discrimination. (Q4: 75)

Public disapproval of discrimination and prejudice with respect to the international sphere does not mean that they do not exist. Open expressions of prejudice are rare, but several students, once their ideas have changed, confess their former, perhaps prejudiced way of thinking. One such example, of the student who changed her way of thinking

from looking down on foreigners to seeing them as equal human beings, was recounted in section 10.5. Another such example is written by a student in a moral education class, after a lesson in which students considered what they could do in the realm of international understanding and exchange:

> 私も前に、ペンパルをやろうと思いました。が母にいったら、ダメといわれてしまいました。なぜかというと、お金はかかると、外国の人は、つめたい人ばかりといわれました。私はK．先生の「どうとく」で、外国人のあたたかさをしりました。だから、私もこれをきかいに、ヘンパルをやってみたいなーと思った。
> (Before, I thought I'd like to have a penfriend. But when I told my mother, I was told I couldn't. I was told it was because it costs money and foreigners are all cold people. I got to know the warmth of foreign people through K-*sensei*'s moral education classes. Because of that, I think that now I'd like to have a penfriend too.) (W1: 2)

Here, it is moral education classes which have removed this student's prejudices vis-a-vis foreign people. Again, it is noticeable that international relations are perceived entirely in terms of human relations.

Overall, then, in ways of seeing and thinking, students continue to extend the concepts of human relations in the immediate environment to the international sphere. This includes the aspect of changing one's own ways of seeing and thinking towards others, as shown in the last quote. Many of the ideas portrayed in this section demonstrate students' positiveness towards and engagement in international human relations. Not all students are so positive or engaged, but it is difficult to represent the views of these students, as silence or blank space are more common than negative comments. These "no-comments" cannot be quoted, neither can they be presumed to reflect a negative attitude towards internationalisation or international human relations. They could purely reflect the state of this student who, when asked for his opinions of foreigners, remarks:

> あまりなんともおもわない
> (I don't really think anything.) (Q4: 93)

In terms of ways of acting, there is a strong trend among students to carry the notions of direct contact and communication of human relations in the immediate environment over to the international sphere. This stands in direct contrast to the Monbusho stance of focusing on ideals and depersonalising international relations. One student succinctly contrasts the Monbusho emphasis on ideals with the strong student emphasis on practice, when she gives her suggestions for the improvement of internationalisation:

> 修学旅行などの場を外国にすることが一番いいと思う。交流するには、それなりにどこかへ行ってじっこうしないと内側だけで言ってたってだめだと思う　会議よりじっこうだと思う。

> (I think it would be best to go abroad on our school trip. For exchange, I think you should actually go somewhere and do it rather than just talk about it inside [Japan]. Actions speak louder than words.) (W1: 20)

The overall impression gained from observation, conversations and questionnaires is that a large number of students share this opinion that actions speak louder than words. As for the student for whom principles of world peace and love became meaningful when they become personalised, many students seem to need to personalise ideals such as "the spirit of international co-operation" before they have any meaning.

Courtesy and respect, which are emphasised by Monbusho, are largely absent from students' expressed ideas of international human relations. Co-operation, on the other hand, is present, but is not as important as in the immediate environment. This student describes her concept of international co-operation:

> ...we cannot live without co-operation and mutual help. Each of us should help unfortunate people and guarantee their living... Everyone should think that people in the world are all the members of his (her) own family. And everyone should co-operate and help each other. (F7: 2,26)

As in the immediate environment, students' ideas of co-operation in the international sphere are closely entwined with ideas of mutual support and help. Students often define international co-operation as the exchange of such help. As one student says, internationalisation is:

> 互いに助ける、信じる
> (Helping each other and trusting each other.) (W1: 26)

It is interesting that student expressions of support and help mention mutual help, as in the immediate environment, more often that uni-directional contribution, as Monbusho tends to emphasise. The relational aspect is accorded prominence. Students do not only speak; they act too. It was noted in section 11.2 that Monbusho does not give any guidelines on putting international ideals into practice. Specifically, it was commented, guidelines for the area of 特別活動 (*tokubetsu katsudou*, Special Activities), which has the greatest potential for transferring international ideals into reality, contain hardly a mention of internationalisation and international relations. Despite any official Monbusho guidance, the Student Council of 一中 took the initiative in implementing the projects mentioned in chapter 10 to send aid parcels to children in Cambodia and the former Yugoslavia. All 600 students in the school participated. The project did not end with this one-way contribution, however. A subsequent newsletter from the Student Council to all the students, written after receiving a thank you letter from aid workers in Cambodia, showed photos of the children receiving the parcels, and included detailed descriptions of individual children's reactions to receiving the parcels (F1: 25). In this

way, the whole project was personalised. Rather than Monbusho's "contribution to the well-being of mankind", this is a relation set up between the students of 一中 and Bobana, Sabun, Nimu and their classmates in Cambodia, real children with real faces and real words. International relations are humanised again, and given the directness and immediacy of the close environment, even without face-to-face contact. The emphasis on practice rather than words was summarised by the head of the Student Council, who led the project, like this:

> I learned that it is important to help people in difficulties, rather than just feel sorry for them. (F7: 1,17)

The importance attached to direct, personal involvement continues with the next common theme raised by students in respect of international human relations. This is the theme of communication. To many students, internationalisation is synonymous with direct, personal communication with foreigners. The notion of direct communication with foreigners as important in international human relations is encouraged by Monbusho through its emphasis on communicative skills in the foreign language guidelines (文部省 1989c: 6) and its development of the JET programme, bringing native speakers into state schools (see section 4.4). However, the significance of communication in the formation of international human relations is even more prominent in student data. As indicated earlier in this section, the desire to be able to communicate directly with foreigners is a major factor in students' enthusiasm for learning English. Comments such as the following are repeated numerous times by students who like English:

> 英語が好きな理由は、外人の人達とたくさん話をしたいからです。
> (The reason I like English is that I want to speak to lots of foreign people.) (Q5: 117)

> 外国に行っていろんな人と話したい。
> (I want to go abroad and talk to various people.) (Q5: 738)

The idea of direct communication and contact with people of other countries is, again, an extension of the concepts of the immediate environment to the international sphere. Human relations are built on face-to-face communication in the immediate environment, and the desire for the same form of relations in the international sphere is striking among students. Many students go further still. Whereas Monbusho virtually ignores the notion of international friendship at the junior high school stage, many students base their ideas of international relations upon this principle. One student's opinion of how international relations could be improved is this:

> 外人ともっといろいろ話しをしたり、意見をきいたりして仲よくすることが大切。
> (It's important to talk more with foreigners about various things, listen to opinions and be friends.) (W1: 6)

In a more developed form, one student's speech for the district English speech contest returns to the same theme, linking it to other themes which have appeared previously in these chapters:

> ...Some people may think that they don't want to be friends with people in trouble now. They may not accept people who have different skin and hair colors. They do not like people of other races. They also think that they have no connections with other countries' poor and unfortunate people. But people around the world live together. If we think this way, all people on the earth are friends... One day, I heard that one Student Council sent little bags of school supplies to other countries. And in A. junior high school, ten students visit China every year. In this way we have chances to make friends with people in other countries... How about trying to reach out to other people in the world? (F7: 2,17)

One interesting, though incidental, point in this extract is the reference to 一中's Cambodia project, and the fact that it is considered important by a student in a different school in a different town. More importantly, what this student is advocating is international human relations built on personal bonds of friendship. Such relations demand personal engagement, mutual support, acceptance of differences without prejudice. These are clearly the values of human relationships in the immediate group, as described in section 11.1. The emphasis on friendship as a base for international human relations is reinforced on the questionnaire on opinions of studying English. Again representative of many responses, these students comment:

> 外国に行って友達をたくさん作りたい
> (I want to go abroad and make lots of friends.) (Q5: 703)

> 外国に行ったときとか、英語ができると外人の人とも話をしたり友達になれる。
> (When I go abroad, if I can speak English I'll be able to talk to foreign people and become friends.) (Q5: 531)

This is what many students think is desirable. The practicalities of actually being able to make friends with foreigners (thus establishing international human relations) in daily junior high school life are more difficult. As this student graphically explains:

> 日本人はもっと自由に生きるべきだ。いつも時間にしばられて、勉強、勉強と言われ続け、学校が終わるとすぐ部活があり、休みの日も部活があって、これでは他の国の人たちと友達になれるどころか家族とのだんらんだってろくにない。
> (Japanese people should live more freely. We're always constrained by time, being told, "Study, study" on and on, and when school finishes it's

> straight to club activities, and on days off we have club activities too. We scarcely have time just to relax with our family, let alone to be able to make friends with people from other countries.) (W1: 27)

As for many other students, the spirit is willing, but the flesh does not have time right now. For the students who share Monbusho ideas of international human relations, the spirit is enough; the spirit of international co-operation, the spirit of working for world peace. For the majority of students, the flesh needs to be involved too, in direct, engaged relationships with people in other countries. Among all the other commitments of junior high school life, this can be problematic, as for this student, and often leads to a postponement of international human relations until a later date ("when I go abroad" and so on). This discrepancy between Monbusho and student interpretations of international human relations leads to a situation where the school does not provide students with appropriate opportunities for internationalisation, and yet the students do not have time outside school to pursue such opportunities.

11.4 Summary

The conclusions that can be drawn from the various views put forward by Monbusho and students in relation to human relations are very similar to those drawn in chapter 10. In chapter 10, it was asserted that Monbusho and students shared a considerable amount of common ground in concepts of self in the immediate group. The same applies to human relations. Monbusho and most students perceive human relations as based on respect for life, love for others and trust, leading to consideration and gratitude. In relations with others, all agree that respect, making the other important, looking for good in the other, and respecting differences without prejudice are essential. These ways of feeling, thinking and seeing are expressed through courtesy, co-operation, mutual support and friendship. All aspects of human relations in this sense are based on direct, engaged participation by the individual in face-to-face interactions.

Although the foundations of human relations in the immediate environment are largely undisputed, differences emerge when the international sphere is broached. For Monbusho, human relations are replaced by international relations, and the human element disappears almost completely. The ideals of international relations - world peace, respect, courtesy and a spirit of co-operation - are emphasised. The object of these ideals is often not people, but the history, culture, traditions, symbols and so on of foreign countries. Although Monbusho documents are liberally sprinkled with references to internationalisation, these are often abstract, unsupported ideals rather than concrete measures to promote internationalisation. As some students themselves point

out, ideals mean nothing until they are personalised. The Monbusho ideal of "contribution to the well-being of mankind" means nothing to many students until they themselves, despite complete lack of Monbusho recommendation or suggestion, have collected and sent packages to real children in Cambodia. The majority student view is expressed by the student who remarks that actions speak louder than words. For many students, international human relations are a direct continuation of human relations in the immediate environment, just as concepts of self in the world were closely linked to self in the immediate group in chapter 10. Human relations in the international sphere require just as much individual engagement, directness and immediacy as human relations in the school environment. This is the view of many students, but there must be students who do not share the same ways of feeling, thinking, seeing or acting. Unfortunately, these students' views are under-represented as they are not voiced in the data I have.

Another issue which is not raised by the data but which is significant in any discussion of human relations in the international sphere is the issue of differential attitudes. Monbusho, and many students, refer to the international society, or foreign countries, as though ways of seeing and thinking about all countries are the same. In reality, this is just not true. In spite of universal advocacy of treating foreigners without prejudice, there remains obvious discrimination between the various foreign nationalities and races. The most obvious example is in the contrast of attitudes towards Westerners and other Asians. On the Monbusho side, this is illustrated in the guidelines for foreign languages. As observed in section 4.4, almost all junior high schools in Japan teach English as the foreign language (which, in itself, leads to a narrow equation of foreign with English-speaking). In the Monbusho guidelines (文部省 1989c), however, curriculum guidelines are also given for other languages. These other languages are French and German. Although the teaching of other languages such as Chinese and Korean is not specifically prohibited, these languages are not even mentioned. As the languages of Japan's closest neighbours and largest foreign groups, it could be assumed that the study of Chinese and Korean would be more useful to international understanding than the study of French or German. Monbusho, however, retains its bias towards the West. Many students hold similar biases. Having asked students to give their opinions of foreigners (外国人, *gaikokujin*), I specifically requested later classes not to mention appearance after over a third of the first 150 responses were limited to "tall, big nose, blue eyes, blond hair" descriptions (Q4). This equation of "foreigners" and "foreign countries" with stereotyped Westerners and the USA is certainly not universal, but is a factor to be taken into account in consideration of student ideas of internationalisation. It is also an understandable response to the situation where, generally, only one foreign

language and very little culture is taught throughout junior high schools and most high schools. For many junior high school students, as described in this chapter, human relations in the international sphere are based on direct communication and contact, and the learning of a foreign language plays an important role in facilitating this process. If the only foreign language in school is English, then it is natural that visions of international human relations are limited to the English-speaking world. Until channels of communication and contact are opened up to students, their definitions of internationalisation as direct, human relations cannot be fulfilled.

Conclusions

The first part of these conclusions will summarise the various lines of argument followed through the thesis. The second part will discuss the implications of the issues raised for internationalisation in Japanese junior high schools.

The first line of argument was that **basic concepts of identities** are commonly agreed upon by Monbusho and students. Identities are accepted by both parties as constructed (see sections 1.1, 3.3, 7.1, 8.2, 9.2) and change of identities is promoted as possible and desirable (see sections 1.2, 8.2, 9.5). Furthermore, identities are commonly viewed as existing only in a social network (see sections 1.3, 3.5, chapter 5). Consequently, multiple, or shifting, identities are the norm (see sections 1.3, 3.4, 5.2, chapter 9). This shared concept of constructed, changeable, social, shifting identities is vital in that it underlies the development of all identities. The implication is that it is the responsibility of the individual to develop his/her identities according to the situation, and that these identities are flexible.

A further shared concept is that the school has a role in shaping the individual construction of identities. This is explicitly stated by Monbusho (see sections 4.4, 7.1, 9.4, chapter 10) and is recognised by students (see sections 7.1, 8.2, chapter 10). As in most areas of school life, the school's responsibility is to provide careful 指導 *(shidou*, guidance) (see section 5.4) to enable students to be successful in developing their identities independently. The effectiveness of this 指導 (*shidou*) relies on the shared subscription of Monbusho, schools and students to common ideals. These common ideals are, to a great extent, rooted in traditional Shinto, Buddhist and Confucian philosophies (see chapter 3). They include acceptance of the notion of 'the right way' (see sections 3.3, 7.3, 7.4, chapter 5), commitment to balanced self-improvement (see sections 3.3, 7.2, 8.2, 9.2, chapter 5), belief in inherent goodness (3.2, chapter 5) and recognition of the importance of human relations (see sections 3.5, 9.2, chapters 10 and 11).

Also shared by Monbusho and students are many of the ideas of **identities in the immediate school environment.** Ideas of identity as a member of a group are largely agreed upon by Monbusho and students, with both parties stressing co-operation, consideration, contribution and so on (see chapters 5 and 10). Likewise, ideas of self in relation to others, or human relations, are very similar (see chapters 5 and 11). These identities and ideas of self in the local school environment are significant as they form a blueprint for the construction of wider social identities. The fact that they are, in the main, shared by Monbusho and students means that both parties are beginning the

discussion of national, international, global and cultural identities from the same baseline.

The next line of argument followed through the thesis was that Monbusho and student views diverge to some extent on the issue of **national and monocultural identities.** For both Monbusho and students, national identity is defined as comprising all elements of the models of national identity discussed in chapter 2, although Monbusho perhaps lays greater emphasis on the ethnic-genealogical model (see section 2.1) than most students do, due to its assumption of homogeneity (see section 10.2), which is based on the *nihonjinron* theories described in chapter 4. For both Monbusho and students, national identity is heavily based on cultural identity (see chapters 2, 4 and 10). The major difference between Monbusho and student views on the development of national and cultural identities is that Monbusho assumes an identical relationship between self and the national group as exists between self and the immediate (school) group (see section 10.2). Although the vast majority of students have self-awareness as Japanese people, they do not seem to apply the principles of the immediate school group directly to the national group (see section 10.4). Most students' sense of Japanese identity is strong, but it is qualitatively different from their sense of membership of the immediate group.

Another line of argument considered the development of **international and intercultural identities.** Here the divergence between Monbusho and most student views widens further. Monbusho's view of international/intercultural identity is encapsulated in the omnipresent phrase 世界の中の日本人 (*sekai no naka no nihonjin*, a Japanese person in the world) (see section 10.3). Self-awareness as an individual is replaced by self-awareness as a Japanese person, and even one's own ways of thinking and seeing are eschewed in favour of the development of Japanese ways of seeing and thinking (see sections 9.4, 10.3). National and monocultural identities are promoted by Monbusho in preference to individual or international/intercultural identities (see section 10.3). This stance contradicts the earlier advocation of flexible, multiple, changing identities (see chapters 1, 3, 8, 9). By contrast, the concept of 世界の中の日本人 (*sekai no naka no nihonjin*) as a definition of international/intercultural identity is non-existent in student comments. One of the few blanket generalisations which can be made about the students in this particular study is that they approach internationalisation, and develop international and intercultural identities, as individuals and not as 'Japanese people in the world' (see sections 9.4, 10.5).

This basic difference in the interpretation of internationalisation leads to a variety of international/intercultural identities. For Monbusho, there is a link between ideas of self in the immediate context and self in international society. This link is the concept of developing a 立場 (*tachiba*, viewpoint or perspective). In the school context, students are encouraged to develop their own ideas and *tachiba* as a prelude to understanding others and changing their own ways of seeing and thinking (see chapter 9). In the international context, Monbusho replaces the individual ways of thinking and *tachiba* with national ways of thinking and a Japanese *tachiba*, and advocates the latter as an end point in internationalisation (see sections 9.4, 10.3). In this respect, the Monbusho view of international and intercultural identities accords closely with the view of Hofstede, quoted in section 2.1, which stresses the importance of security of national identity and belief in one's own values when encountering anything foreign. Monbusho supports international contact, as evidenced by its large-scale exchange programmes (see section 4.4). However, this international contact should not threaten, and ideally should be used to reinforce, Japanese national and cultural identities among students. The Monbusho view epitomises the early stage of international and intercultural identities described in section 2.2. This early stage requires the student to look out to the world, and to be able to see the self in the international context. However, this view, and way of viewing, are dominated by and reinforce the native mononational and monocultural perspective.

Most students have an alternative view. Some students see internationalisation as a threat to their 'Japaneseness', claiming that they cannot be both Japanese and international, and reject international and intercultural identities completely. This is not, however, a majority view (see section 10.5). Many students do welcome internationalisation. Some students share a similar view of internationalisation to Monbusho. In contrast to Monbusho, though, the development of international and intercultural identities does not depend on being 'a Japanese person in the world'. Students develop these identities as individuals, not as national citizens (see chapter 10). It is probably for this reason that students tend to carry many of the principles of self in the immediate environment through into the setting of self in the international environment. The result is that, unlike Monbusho, students stress internationalisation as a two-way, intensely human process (see chapter 11). This process, for many students, demands personal involvement with a real (if imagined) 'other' and the changing of the self (see chapters 9, 10 and 11). These factors, combined with the frequent references to empathy and 'opening the mind', lead many students into the later stage of international and intercultural identities described in section 2.2. At this later stage, the parameters of identities are still national and cultural, but are not restricted to the single perspective of

the native nation and culture. In other words, students do not see internationalisation as merely reinforcing their own Japanese identity, but are able to develop (or express a desire to develop) identities which enable them to see and think from the perspective of people of another nation or culture, as well as their own.

In the development of **global and transcultural identities**, which I define as the ability to approach native and foreign nations and cultures from a world perspective (see section 2.3) there is also divergence between Monbusho and student views. For Monbusho, the development of a global identity, in the limited form in which it exists, is based on approval of ideals of world peace and the welfare of mankind (see section 11.2). As in the international/intercultural sphere, Monbusho's recommendations are noticeably depersonalised, with abstract ideals taking the place of the concrete policies advocated in the school environment (see section 11.2). For many students, the picture of global and transcultural identities is a different one. The principles of the immediate environment are carried through to the global sphere, and appeal is made to concepts such as 'the world family', or being 'a member of this world' (see section 10.5). In the construction of global and transcultural identities, students stress the importance of direct human relations, and there is a much stronger emphasis on personal involvement in the world by students than by Monbusho (see section 11.4).

One area related to global and transcultural identities in which Monbusho and student views converge to a certain extent is the concept of 人間 (*ningen*). As explained in chapter 7, 人間 (*ningen*) can refer to a single human being or it can refer to the entire human race. In its definition as both the smallest and largest units of existence, 人間 (*ningen*) is emphasised by Monbusho and by students (see section 7.1 and chapter 3). It is students, however, who make the direct connection between 人間 (*ningen*) and global and transcultural identities explicit (see section 10.6). This is done by using both definitions of the term 人間 (*ningen*) simultaneously, in phrases such as 同じ人間 (*onaji ningen*, the same human beings *or* the same human race), thus collapsing the boundary between the narrowest and widest units of existence (see section 10.5). This collapsing of boundaries is an illustration of Robertson's (1991: 77) theory of globalisation (see section 2.3) and Lebra's (1992: 115) notion of the 'boundless self' (see section 3.4). It is significant in that it involves a complete shift of perspective from that characteristic of national, monocultural, international or intercultural identities. When identity as a 人間 (*ningen*) supersedes these other identities, the nation(s) and culture(s) can be seen from a world (global and transcultural) perspective as well as vice versa (see section 2.3).

These are the various lines of argument which have been explored through this thesis. To summarise the findings of the thesis in one sentence, it could be argued that, although Monbusho and the majority of students share basic concepts and ideals of identities, there is divergence between Monbusho and most students when it comes to identities in the world sphere (that is, national, monocultural, international, intercultural, global and transcultural identities). It is precisely these identities in the world sphere which are developed by, and are developing, 国際化 (*kokusaika*) or internationalisation.

The divergence identified is probably caused by the ambivalence surrounding the term 国際化 (*kokusaika*) which, as pointed out in section 4.3, is used to cover a huge range of contexts and meanings. As Lincicome (1993: 123) observes, however, this ambivalence can be taken as a positive aspect of the current situation:

> ...the real significance of the internationalization movement lies in its very ambiguity. It is that condition that has created a discursive space in which intellectuals, politicians, education officials, school administrators, teachers, and even students contest the meaning and goals of *kokusaika.*

This 'discursive space' is what gives students the flexibility to create their own definitions of 国際化 (*kokusaika*) and of a 国際人 (*kokusaijin*) (see section 10.5 and appendix 2) and, ultimately, to construct their own identities according to these definitions. Although Monbusho ideas are clearly stated, they are not accepted as the only view of internationalisation, and so are negotiated by teachers and individual students within this 'discursive space'.

This flexibility means that the future course of 国際化 (*kokusaika*) in Japanese education is difficult to predict. One possibility is that the Monbusho attitude to internationalisation could shift towards the majority student perspective. In theory, this would merely require an extension of existing principles. The values Monbusho advocates in the local sphere (empathy, human relations, changing ways of seeing and thinking) could easily be extended to the world sphere, exactly as many students are doing now. However, this change of policy is unlikely for two reasons. The first is that, at this stage, it seems that other issues will take priority over internationalisation in the next set of Monbusho reforms, scheduled for the turn of the century. The second is that such changes would have political implications and might be seen as a threat to national and cultural identity by many politicians.

A more likely alternative is that, for as long as 国際化 (*kokusaika*) retains its current general ambiguity, it will proceed along its present course. As students are encouraged to develop 個性 (*kosei*, individuality) and 自分のものの見方や考え方 (*jibun no mono*

no mikata ya kangaekata, one's own ways of seeing and thinking) by Monbusho in the immediate environment (see chapter 9), they logically extend these concepts to the world sphere. Unless Monbusho dramatically reinforces the nationalist elements of its policies in schools, it seems unlikely that students will be persuaded to adopt Monbusho's distinction between principles applied to the local and national spheres, and principles applied to the international and world spheres.

Whichever course is adopted (and both those outlined above are mere speculation), it appears that 国際化 (*kokusaika*) is firmly rooted and here to stay in Japanese schools. What can be stated with some certainty is that, for most of the junior high school students in this study, 国際化 (*kokusaika*) has progressed beyond the quantitative face of statistics and well into the qualitative face of identities. Although they interpret internationalisation in different ways, and construct various identities accordingly, for the vast majority of students, 国際化 (*kokusaika*) is meaningful and is incorporated into their sense of self. This notion is illustrated by a poem quoted by a junior high school student of 一中 in her year's graduation album:

世界は広い
そして もっと広いのは
人間の心です
(The world is wide,/ And wider still/ Is the human heart.) (GA: 67)

By opening their minds to the world, by extending their immediate sphere of existence to include the world, and by making the link between 人間 (*ningen*) and the world, many students are incorporating the world into their individual identities and are extending themselves into the world. In other words, these junior high school students are becoming international.

☆★☆

Appendices

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Appendix 1

This appendix contains a key to the sections of data referred to in chapters 7 to 11. As it lists only data cited in the text, it is not an exhaustive list of the data collected. A selection of each section of data can be located in the relevant appendix. Appendix 2 comes immediately following this appendix. However, in appendices 3-7, the names of people and places involved in the study are freely used, and these appendices are submitted separately to ensure confidentiality and anonymity.

Q4 - questionnaire on experiences with and attitudes to foreigners. Conducted with 279 second year students in three schools in May 1994.

Q5 - questionnaire on interest in English. Conducted with 832 students of all years in four schools from April to June 1995

Q7 - questionnaire on national/ 国際 (*kokusai*, international) identities. Conducted with 158 third year students in two schools in May 1995.

A copy of the questionnaires and a summary of the results of each questionnaire can be found in Appendix 2.

O1 - Observation notes made from July to November 1993.

O3 - Observation notes made from February to March 1994.

O5 - Observation notes made from August to November 1994.

O7 - Observation notes made from April to June 1995.

A selection of the observation notes can be found in Appendix 3 (submitted separately).

W1 - Comments by second year students on 国際化 (*kokusaika*, internationalisation) and 国際交流 (*kokusai kouryuu*, international exchange) written during a moral education class.

W3 - essays by third year students on what they have learned through doing club activities, written during a class activities lesson.

A selection of the student work can be found in Appendix 4 (submitted separately).

D5 - 平成7年度学習指導計画 (1995-96 school curriculum plans).

D9 - 学級文集 (collection of class compositions): end-of-year essays written by first year students and printed in booklet form.

D10 - as D9

D14 - 平成6年度生徒手帳 (1994-95 student handbook/ diary).

D18 - as D9

A selection of extracts from these documents can be found in Appendix 5 (submitted separately).

F1 - file of class and year newsletters, and documents relating to Student Council activities.

F2 - file of teacher newsletters and school schedules.

F3 - file of agendas and minutes of staff meetings, and staff committee newsletters.

F4 - file of documents relating to sports activities.

F5 - file of PTA and health newsletters.

F7 - file of documents relating to English teaching seminars, and texts of speeches presented by students in the district English speech contest.

F8 - file of school statistics, timetables etc.

F9 - file of district and prefectural notices and newsletters.

F10 - teaching plans for and materials used in English lessons.

A selection of extracts from these files of documents can be found in Appendix 6 (submitted separately).

T10 - tape of and copies of materials used in third year class activities lesson, recorded in June 1995.

The tape and materials can be found in Appendix 7 (submitted separately).

GA - 一中 graduation album, March 1996

Appendix 2

This appendix contains copies and a summary of the three mini-questionnaires which are quoted in the text.

Questionnaire 4

1. 外国人にはどこに会いますか。(Where do you meet foreigners?).....
.....

2. 何人の外国人と話したことがありますか。(How many foreigners have you spoken to?)

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, more than 10

3. 外国人に会った時の経験について書いてください。(Please describe your experience with foreigners.) .....
.....
.....
.....
.....

4. 外国人をどう思いますか (What do you think of foreigners?).....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

This questionnaire was carried out with 279 second year students in three schools in May 1994. Students could answer in Japanese or English, and were allowed approximately 15-20 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

Summary of results

1. Where do you meet foreigners?

[name of the nearest big city] 221 (79%)

In own town/ village	139 (50%)
On school trips	130 (47%)
On the train	105 (41%)
At home	23 (8%)
Other	41 (15%)

2. How many foreigners have you spoken to?

1-2 foreigners	156 (56%)
3-4 foreigners	81 (29%)
5-6 foreigners	20 (7%)
7 or more foreigners	13 (5%)
no answer	9 (3%)

Students were specifically told to include the ALTs (me and my predecessor), and so an answer of 1-2 foreigners means that the only interaction with foreigners has been at school. The majority of students, therefore, have never spoken to a foreigner except at school.

3. Please describe your experience with foreigners.

175 descriptions were written. The experiences described covered:

school	81 (46%)
chance meeting	77 (44%)
family and friends	17 (10%)

Examples of what the students wrote are quoted under each of these headings. Throughout this appendix, students' comments are included as they were written, and no changes have been made to students' use of *kanji* and *hiragana*, punctuation etc.

experiences at school

- この前 （1年のとき）駅で、リン先生に会って「good morning」と言われたけど、恥ずかしくて、声が小さくなってしまいました。あの時、もっと大きな声で言えば良かったなあと後悔しています。いろんな所で、外人さんに会うので、今度は声をかけてみたいです。(Q4: 2)
- 職員室で会うときんちょうして「good morning」も話せないでいると、ニコって笑ってくれてうきうきしてしまいます。(Q4: 9)
- 中学校にきて、外国の先生がきたときは、ビックリした。(Q4: 29)
- 私は外国の人に対しては、その国によって言葉がちがうので、びっくりした。また、リン先生と初めてしゃべったことがすごく心に残っている。(Q4: 58)

chance meetings

- 友達といたら外国人にあって英語をしゃべったらわらわれてしまった。(Q4: 6)
- 中国人に自分たちがどこへ行くのかきかれた。きんちょうした。(Q4: 7)
- 場所を聞かれた。びっくりしたけど、自分の手ぶり身ぶりでなんとかつうじたのでうれしかった。(Q4: 10)
- ・・駅前通りで、アクセサリーを売っている外人がいた。話して見ると、外人さんはひょうきんでやさしい話しかたをするので、外人さんは心があたたかいなあと思った。(Q4: 11)
- 見学旅行で、いっしょに写真をとった！！(Q4: 15)

experiences with family/ friends

- 私の家にはブラジルから人がホームステーで半年いました。それで、いろんなところにたくさんいってきました。またとても親切で話しやすかったです (日本語) (またはポルトガル語もおしえてもらったりもしました)。(Q4: 20)
- こどものころ一緒にあそんだ。(Q4: 22)
- 家に私のしんせきの人の友達 (外国人) がきて、いっしょに食事などをした！(Q4: 23)
- お父さんの妹とけっこんした人がアメリカ人で、いっしょにいろいろな場所に遊びに行った　very happy！外国人にはとてもあこがれているので、外国人の友達などほしいと思った　(Q4: 41)

4. What do you think of foreigners?

With the first three classes (93 students), this question was completely open. In these classes, 53% of the student comments referred to the appearance of the stereotyped Westerner (e.g. "tall" (27% of total responses from these three classes), "big nose" (12%), "blond hair" (6%), "blue eyes" (5%), "white" (3%) and "big feet" (<1%)). After these three classes, students in other classes were specifically requested not to write about appearance.

The following is a selection of student responses to this question:

- さわやかというかさっぱりしたような人ですっごくはたらいてるって感じがする　それに、いつも明るいような気がする。(Q4: 30)
- 男の人はちょっとこわそうに見えるけど楽しく日本人よりもカッコイイひとが多くて優しい。女の人は楽しくてやっぱり美人が多くて優しい人がたーくさんいる。(Q4: 32)

- 僕は外国人はあまり好きではありません。理由は英語などで話をかけられたときに自分がこんらんしてしまうからです。(Q4: 33)
- ぼくは話しをしていて思ったのですがとても楽しいなんだか自分が外国の人になったようなきぶんになるからふしぎでおもしろいと思う。(Q4: 35)
- 話す言葉がちがうだけどあとは日本人と変わらないと思う。(Q4: 36)
- 私は良くテレビや雑誌など外国人の人を見ますが私達日本人とのものの考え方などがちがっていると思います。(Q4: 39)
- 町で外国の人を見るとおどろいてしまう。おおぜんでいるとすこしこわいかんじがある。でも外国の人はいつもスマイルでとてもやさしそうな人達ばかりだと思います。(Q4: 40)
- かくへい器なんかもたないでほしい。(Q4: 44)
- 性格とかは、テレビとかではやさしいけれど、ほんば外国では、はんざいとかがあるので少しこわい気持ちになった。(Q4: 47)
- 日本人と外国人では、ものの見かたやうけとめかたがちがうと思う。でも日本人が外国人とのちがいをみつけてそして反対に外国人が日本人とのちがいをみつければ、世界中の人たちとなかよくなれると思う。同じ人間なんだからことばがつうじなくてもいいとおもう。(Q4: 51)
- 国際交流をもう少しふやして、外国の人と仲良くなるのもよいと思う。(Q4: 52)
- 人を見かけではんだんしてはいけないのだと思う。(Q4: 54)
- 初めて会った時はこわそうな人だと思ってしまうけど、話しをしたりしているところを見るとやっぱりやさしそうな人なんだと思う。(Q4: 56)
- 優しい人だと思う（ヨーロッパ系）。少しこわいと思う（アジア系）。(Q4: 57)
- 英語が自由にはなすことができるのでうらやましい。(Q4: 63)
- イラン系の人はなんとなくいやだ。(Q4: 65)
- 外国の授業や子供の人達は日本の子供と比べてみると外国人はすこやかに、のびのびとそだっていて、教育的に外国の方が良いと思う。(Q4: 68)
- 日本にきたら日本語で話せ！！(Q4: 72)
- 差別があっていやだ。(Q4: 75)
- 話す時は心臓がどきどきして、緊張してしまった。(Q4: 76)
- 日本人とは別世界の人のようなかんじ。(Q4: 77)
- 人類みな兄弟 (Q4: 80)
- 友達になってみたい。(Q4: 83)
- あまりなんともおもわない。(Q4: 93)
- 外国人はケンカ好き。(Q4: 94)
- とてもx2かっこいい。すごくあこがれる。(Q4: 95)
- 日本人より自分の考えをよく持っている。(Q4: 99)

Questionnaire 5

1. Did you learn English before junior high school?
- Yes (where?).....
- No

2. Do you learn English outside school now?
- Yes (where?) .....
- No

3. Do you like English?

1	2	3	4	5
not at all	not really	so-so	a little	a lot
とても嫌い	やや嫌い	どちらとも言えない	やや好き	とても好き

4. Why/why not?
.....
.....
.....
.....

This questionnaire was completed by 832 students of all years in four schools, between April and June 1995. The questionnaire was written in English, as it was administered during English classes, but verbal explanations were given in Japanese and students were free to write answers in English or Japanese. Approximately 10-15 minutes were allowed for completion.

Summary of results

The first table shows the numbers and percentages of students marking themselves at each point of the 1-5 scale of liking/ disliking English. The table is divided into two sections, comparing the students who gave internationalisation-related reasons for liking/disliking English with those who did not.

reason	1	2	3	4	5
internationalisation-related reasons	2(-) [*8%*]	1(-) [*1%*]	5 [*2%*]	47 [*17%*]	55 [*26%*]
not int. related	24 [*92%*]	76 [*99%*]	233 [*98%*]	233 [*83%*]	156 [*74%*]
total [*100%*]	26	77	238	280	211

Figures in brackets compare the percentage of students who gave each type of reason at each point of the scale. The three students identified by a minus sign, who rated themselves at 1 or 2 on the scale, gave anti-international comments, claiming that they did not like English because they were Japanese. It is interesting that the proportion of students writing positive internationalisation-related comments rises at each point of the scale.

Reading the table horizontally rather than vertically, 97% of the students who gave explanations related to internationalisation say that they like English (50% marked '5' on the 1-5 scale, and 47% marked '4'). This is compared to 54% of the students who did not mention internationalisation-related reasons for liking or disliking English.

From this questionnaire, at least, it can be assumed that interest in internationalisation is strongly correlated to a liking for English. However, the pattern varies according to the year of junior high school. The following table shows the number and percentage of students at each point of the 1-5 scale according to the year.

	1	2	3	4	5
Year 1	9 [*2%*]	28 [*6%*]	121 [*25%*]	166 [*34%*]	159 [*33%*]
Year 2	16 [*7%*]	42 [*17%*]	77 [*32%*]	71 [*30%*]	34 [*14%*]
Year 3	1 [*<1%*]	7 [*6%*]	40 [*37%*]	43 [*39%*]	18 [*17%*]
total	26 [*3%*]	77 [*9%*]	238 [*29%*]	280 [*34%*]	211 [*25%*]

The figure in brackets is the percentage of the year group who marked each point of the scale.

As can be seen in this table, the percentage of students who like English ('4' or '5' on the scale) decreases from 67% in the first year to an average of 48% in the second and third years. The same applies to the connection by students of English with internationalisation. The following table shows the division of students by year and by the type of reason they gave for liking or disliking English.

	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	total
internationalisation-related reason	90 [*19%*]	15 [*6%*]	5 [*5%*]	110 [*13%*]
not int. related	393 [*81%*]	225 [*94%*]	104 [*95%*]	722 [*87%*]
total	483 [*100%*]	240 [*100%*]	109 [*100%*]	832 [*100%*]

When students arrive at junior high school, many of them state internationalisation-related reasons when describing why they like English. After one or two years of learning English, these internationalisation-related reasons fade in importance, replaced largely by references to grammar and vocabulary. This trend away from 'English for internationalisation' in students' minds is clearly observable in the first few months of the first year. Questionnaires with first year students were carried out over their first three months at junior high school, and the following pattern was observed:

	April	May	June
internationalisation-related reasons	41 [*28%*]	29 [*21%*]	20 [*10%*]
not int. related	107 [*72%*]	110 [*79%*]	176 [*90%*]
total	148 [*100%*]	139 [*100%*]	196 [*100%*]

In summary, then, this questionnaire shows that liking for English is correlated to enthusiasm for internationalisation. This connection by students of English to internationalisation is particularly strong when students first arrive at junior high school, but is noticeably diminished through the three years, and even the first three months, of

junior high school. Student comments suggest that the reality of memorising vocabulary and grammar structures tends to supersede the ideas of English for internationalisation. At the same time, those students who do retain internationalisation-related motives through into the second and third years tend to be those who like English the most. The following is a selection of the internationalisation-related answers that students gave to the question of why they do or do not like English. Ideas which recurred repeatedly in the questionnaires are repeated in this selection too, to give an idea of the frequency as well as content of students' ideas. The first number in brackets at the beginning of each quote indicates which year the student belongs to, while the second number shows the point of the 1-5 scale at which the student rated himself/ herself. For example (1,4) refers to a first year student who marked '4' on the 1-5 scale of liking English.

- (1,4): 英語がしゃべるということは、外国の人達と話ができる。(Q5: 23)
- (1,5): 英語でしゃべってるとアメリカとかの学校でならってるみたいで、楽しいから (Q5: 31)
- (1,5): 日本語以外の言葉を使えるなんてステキなことだから。それに外人になったみたいな気分になれるからです。(Q5: 63)
- (1,5): English は外国人の人とかが使っている言葉でかっこいいし、English をやっていると楽しいから。（いつか、外国人と話しをするときがくる（たぶん）と思うから、勉強する。(Q5: 72)
- (1,5): 英語は、日本語と違ってむずかしいけどなんだか他の国の言葉も楽しくて、英語もしゃべれば他の国の人としゃべれて楽しそうだから５にしました (Q5: 95)
- (1,5): 外国にきょうみがある。外国人としゃべると何だかうれしい。(Q5: 107)
- (1,4): 外人の人達とたくさん話をしたいからです。(Q5: 117)
- (1,4): もし外国へ行って、英語で言われなければならないし、それに、英語をやっていると、なんだか、自分が外人になった気がします。(Q5: 153)
- (1,5): 自分が他人に変わるような感じだから (Q5: 183)
- (2,4): 他の国の人と接するのはとても楽しい。もっともっとたくさん、いろんな事を教えてもらいたい。(Q5: 281)
- (2,4): アメリカにとしゆきおじさんがいたし、英語が話せると国際交流もできるから。(Q5: 311)
- (2,5): 本当の外国人の先生に教えてもらえるのでとてもうれしいです。(Q5: 315)
- (2,3): 外国のことがわかるようなきがする。(Q5: 331)
- (3,4): 一応高校に行ったらアメリカ行くから、話せるようにしたいと思います。(Q5: 442)

- (3,4): 町で外国の人に会ったとき、話しかけられて答えることができるようになったから。他の国の文化や暮らしなどが知れてすごくたのしい。(Q5: 481)
- (3,5): もっともっとたくさんの外国の先生に日本にきてもらって、たのしく学習したい。(Q5: 488)
- (1,4): 外国人の人と話すのは少しはずかしいけど、ちょっと話したいと思ったから (Q5: 496)
- (1,4): こくさい人になるため。(Q5: 511)
- (1,5): 外国人の人と英語で話したいから。(Q5: 513)
- (1,5): いっぱいおぼえて、早く外国の人とはなしをしてみたいです。(Q5: 516)
- (1,4): 外国の人と少しでもいいからかいわしたいと思った。(Q5: 526)
- (1,4): 外国に行ったときとか、英語ができると外人の人とも話をしたり友達になれる。(Q5: 531)
- (1,4): 外国の人たちと会話ができて友達になれるから。(Q5: 543)
- (1,5): 外国の言葉をおぼえればたくさんの外国の人と交りゅうがとれて楽しいと思うから (Q5: 557)
- (1,4): 外国にすごく興味があるから（とくにフランスやアメリカなど）。(Q5: 594)
- (1,5): 外国の人と話せるから 外国の人と話せるということはすばらしいから (Q5: 617)
- (1,5): ぼくは、日本語だけでなく、英語も知りたいから。それに、しょうらい、いろんな国に行けたら、英語をしゃべり、外国での友達をふやしたいから (Q5: 628)
- (1,5): 英語がしゃべれると、外国の人とはなしができてたのしいから。(Q5: 641)
- (1,5): 日本語の他にちがう国の言葉を話せることはとてもすばらしいし、英語ってかっこいいから どこかちがう国に行っても話せるとうれしいから。(Q5: 647)
- (1,5): 英語をしゃべれるとほかの国のいろいろな人とはなせるから。(Q5: 676)
- (1,4): 英語を早く覚えて、外国人と話しをしたい。(Q5: 679)
- (1,4): 英語は、外国の人たちと話せるからすき。(Q5: 680)
- (1,4): 英語がとくいになれば外国の人と話しができるから。(Q5: 696)
- (1,5): 外国に行って友達をたくさん作りたいから。(Q5: 703)
- (1,3): 外国人の人とかと話しがしたいから。外国人の人が道がわからなくても、英語で教えてやれるから。(Q5: 704)

- (1,4): 英語を話せるようになって、外国にいってみたい！けどむりー。(Q5: 718)
- (1,5): もっと外国人とふかくしりあいたい。(Q5: 724)
- (1,5): えいごができると外国の人とも話ができるから。(Q5: 732)
- (1,5): 外国にいっていろんな人と話したいから。(Q5: 738)
- (1,5): 外国にきょうみがある。(Q5: 746)
- (1,5): 外人さんと話をしたいから。(Q5: 753)
- (1,5): 日本語以外の言葉もしゃべれたら国さい社会にも通用するかもしれないから　外人ともお話をへいきでする人になってみたいから（通訳をめざしている）　(Q5: 754)
- (1,4): 外国人と話ができるから。(Q5: 767)
- (2,1): 日本人だから　(Q5: 805)
- (2,1): 日本に生まれたから。(Q5: 807)
- (2,4): 他の国の人と話すことができるから。(Q5: 825)

Questionnaire 7

1. What is an international person? 「国際人」とは何か。.....
.....
.....
.....

2. To what extent do you consider yourself to be.... あなたの意識レベルはどのぐらいですか
Japanese「日本人」 1.....2.....3.....4.....5
International「国際人」 1.....2.....3.....4.....5

3. Why? その理由を書いてください。.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

This questionnaire was conducted with 158 third year students in two schools in May 1995. Students were given approximately 15-20 minutes to complete the questionnaire in Japanese or English.

Summary of results

1. What is an international person?

A wide variety of definitions were offered by students. These can be grouped into the following eight categories.

- a person irrelevant to self 28 [*18%*]
- someone who has specific knowledge or skills 53 [*34%*]
- someone who has contact with foreigners/ foreign countries 71 [*45%*]
- someone who has a certain lifestyle 2 [*1%*]
- someone who makes a contribution to the world 5 [*3%*]
- a person with a certain way of seeing the world 13 [*8%*]
- someone who has a world perspective 6 [*4%*]
- someone who can get along abroad 5 [*3%*]

As some students gave multiple definitions included in various categories, and 28 students (*18%*) gave no definition, the percentages do not add up to 100%. Each

category will be defined, and examples of student definitions in each category will be given.

- a person irrelevant to the self

Included in this category are definitions of an international person as a foreigner (16 students, *10%*), someone living in a foreign country (7 students, *4%*), a returnee to Japan (2 students, *1%*) and someone with a different religion or race (3 students, *2%*). Examples of student comments include the following:

- 背がたかくて、目の色が日本人とちがう人のこと。(Q7: 37)
- 国際人とは外国人。(Q7: 120)
- 国際人とは、他の国からきてそこに住んでいる人。(Q7: 82)
- 日本にもどってくる人 (Q7: 148)
- 宗教がちがう。(Q7: 17)

- someone who has specific knowledge or skills

Included in this category are definitions of an international person as someone who can speak foreign languages (34 students, *22%*) or someone who knows about different countries (19 students, *12%*). Examples of student comments include the following:

- いろんな国の言葉を話せる人間 (Q7: 7)
- 英語をとても上手に話せる人 (Q7: 147)
- 外国の出来事などにきょうみをもったりしている人、それらをしらべたりしている人 (Q7: 58)
- 外国の知識が豊富な人のことだと思う (Q7: 95)

- someone who has contact with foreigners/ foreign countries.

Included in this category are definitions of an international person as someone who travels abroad (26 students, *16%*) and someone who has links or contact with foreign countries and/or people (45 students, *28%*). Examples of student comments include the following:

- 他の国に行って、その国の人達と親しくなれる人。(Q7: 74)
- 自ら進んで、他の国の人達とこうりゅうをする人。(Q7: 64)
- 世界の国々やその人たちとたくさんのつながりを持っている人。(Q7: 109)
- 国境をこえた結びつきのある人間。(Q7: 157)

- someone who has a certain lifestyle

This category was for definitions of an international person as someone who incorporates or accepts foreign cultures into his/ her own way of living (2 students, *1%*). Both students' definitions are quoted:

- 外国の文化などをとり入れようとする人。(Q7: 83)

- 外国のものを多くとりいれたりしている人。(Q7: 123)

- someone who makes a contribution to the world

This category was for definitions of an international person as someone who contributes to the world, or to international relations, or who does something internationally (5 students, *3%*). Examples of students' comments include the following:

- 国際関係のやくにたっている人かな。(Q7: 16)
- 国と国が結びつけるように助ける人。(Q7: 131)

- a person with a certain way of seeing the world

Included in this category are definitions of an international person as someone who looks out to the world (2 students, *1%*), someone who can take a wide perspective or multiple perspectives (6 students, *4%*), someone who thinks differently from ordinary people (2 students, *1%*), someone who can value other countries and people (1 student, *<1%*) and someone who treats all people equally, regardless of nationality (2 students, *1%*). Examples of students' comments include the following:

- 世界に視野を広げている人。(Q7: 12)
- 世界を広い視野で、みつめられるような人 (Q7: 55)
- 世界に目を向けて、いろいろ考えている人 (Q7: 13)
- 一つの考えにといわれず色々な考え方ができる人（世界的な考え等）(Q7: 107)
- 普通の人と少し考え方がちがう人 (Q7: 66)
- いろいろな国に知り合い(友達）がいてその人達の国も大事にすることができる人 (Q7: 72)
- 差別のない、平等に接することができる人 (Q7: 14)

- someone who has a world perspective

Included in this category are definitions of an international person as a human being (4 students, *3%*) and as someone who works for world peace (2 students, *1%*). Examples of the students' comments include the following:

- この地球上で生まれそだった人 (Q7: 65)
- この地球上に住んでいる人のこと。(Q7: 76)
- 世界を平和にする人。(Q7: 115)

- someone who can get along abroad

This category was for definitions of an international person as someone who is able to get along or be accepted (通用する) in other countries (5 students, *3%*). Examples of the students' comments include the following:

- 広く世界を通用する人。(Q7: 116)
- 世界にはばたく人達、世界でかつやくする人達だと思う。(Q7: 119)

2. To what extent do you consider yourself to be Japanese/ international?

		national				
		1	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**total**
international	**1**	1	5 [*3%*]	25 [*16%*]	19 [*12%*]	43 [*27%*]	93 [*59%*]
	2	0	2 [*1%*]	10 [*6%*]	20 [*13%*]	14 [*29%*]	46 [*29%*]
	3	0	0	3 [*2%*]	5 [*3%*]	6 [*4%*]	14 [*9%*]
	4	0	0	0	0	1	1 [*0%*]
	5	0	1	0	0	3 [*2%*]	4 [*3%*]
total		1 [*<1%*]	8 [*5%*]	38 [*24%*]	44 [*28%*]	67 [*42%*]	158 [*100%*]

3. Why? (national identity)

The following table shows the reasons relating to national identity given by students for their self-rating on the 1-5 scale, shown above. Reasons are grouped into categories. Multiple reasons were given by some students, and so are included in more than one category.

Reason	1	2	3	4	5	total
genealogical	0	0	1	2	5	8 [*5%*]
born and/or brought up in Japan	0	0	0	0	16	16 [*10%*]
nationality	0	0	0	0	2	2 [*1%*]
language: positive	0	0	3	7	6	
negative	0	2	6	3	0	27 [*17%*]
culture: positive	0	0	3	7	12	
negative	0	0	8	3	0	33 [*21%*]
knowledge: pos.	0	0	0	2	0	
neg.	0	0	8	3	0	13 [*8%*]
maturity	1	1	4	2	0	8 [*5%*]
role/contribution	0	0	1	0	0	1 [*<1%*]
way of thinking	0	1	1	1	1	4[*3%*]
no reason	0	3	12	18	27	60 [*38%*]

To summarise, the first three categories (genealogical, born and/or brought up in Japan, nationality) can be grouped into 'given' reasons - facts which students cannot change. The 16% of students who gave such reasons tended to give a high self-rating of their national identity (average 4.85). By contrast, the second three categories (language, culture and knowledge) plus maturity can be grouped as aspects of national identity which have to be developed through life. The 51% of students who cited such reasons gave a lower self-rating of their national identity (average 3.74). Within this category, 40 students (25% of the total) specifically gave negative reasons. That is, they stated that they were not fully Japanese yet because of their lack of linguistic, cultural or social knowledge and abilities, or because they were still immature. A further minority of 5

students (3%) explained their national identity rating by reference to their way of thinking or sense of responsibility in the nation.

A selection of students' comments in each category follows. The number in brackets at the beginning of each quote gives the student's self-rating on the 1-5 scale.

genealogical

- (5): 両親が日本人だから。(Q7: 1)
- (5): 日本人の親から日本で生まれて日本でそだったから。(Q7: 16)

born and/or brought up in Japan

- (5): 日本で生まれたから。(Q7: 19)
- (5): 日本で生まれ、今も日本で育っているから。(Q7: 79)

nationality

- (5): 国せきが日本だから (Q7: 20)

language - positive

- (4): 日本語がしゃべれるから。(Q7: 2)
- (5): 僕は、今、日本に住んでいて、日本語でたくさんの人と話をしている。だから、日本人だという実感がある (Q7: 55)

language - negative

- (2): わからない言葉や漢字がたくさんあるから (Q7: 34)
- (3): 敬語の使い方があいまいだから (Q7: 26)

culture - positive

The category "culture" incorporates comments on daily lifestyle as well as on more traditional national culture (sports, arts etc.).

- (4): 生活の中では、やっぱり日本の文化などが多く使われているから。(Q7: 83)
- (5): 一応神道やってから、日本の国家宗教というわけで５ぐらいにしておこうと思ったので (Q7: 32)

culture - negative

- (3): 日本の伝統文化をまだ１つしか挑戦してないが、日本語を話すことができるから (Q7: 35)
- (4): いつも日本人らしく日本語で話していたり、はしをつかって物を食べているし、着物だって着るので日本人、でも少し日本人らしくない日などがある それは、いろいろとナイフなど外人などが多く日常つかうものなどをときどき使うから。(Q7: 73)

knowledge - positive

- (4): 私は日本のことなどはだいたい知っているからです。(Q7: 56)
- (4): 自分は日本人だし、日本のことを一番知っているから。(Q7: 76)

knowledge - negative

- (2): 日本の 宗教、文化、歴史を十分にしっていないから。(Q7: 17)
- (3): 日本人として、まだ勉強しなければならないことがたくさんあるから。(Q7: 24)

maturity

- (1): 日本人として、未じゅくすぎて、自信がない。(Q7: 30)
- (3): 日本人としては、まだ半分までしか成長していない子供だから。(Q7: 29)

role/contribution

- (3): 日本人としてまだ何もしていないから。(Q7: 46)

way of thinking

- (2): 日本人は、心が広くないから。(Q7: 117)
- (4): ものの考え方などは日本人らしいと思うから。(Q7: 112)

4. Why? (international identity)

The table on the next page shows the reasons relating to international identity given by students for their self-rating on the 1-5 scale, shown above. Reasons are grouped into categories. Multiple reasons were given by some students, and so are included in more than one category.

Reason	1	2	3	4	5	total
not in category	6	0	0	0	0	6 [*4%*]
knowledge & : pos.	0	9	1	1	0	
skills neg.	38	9	0	0	0	58 [*37%*]
lifestyle: positive	0	1	1	0	0	
negative	1	1	0	0	0	4 [*3%*]
contact &: positive	0	2	1	1	0	
travel negative	18	6	3	0	0	31 [*20%*]
role/contribution	1	0	1	0	0	2 [*1%*]
ways of thinking:	6	5	2	0	2	15[*9%*]
world perspective	0	0	2	0	1	3 [*2%*]
maturity	5	2	1	0	0	8 [*5%*]
no reason	30	15	5	0	1	51 [*32%*]

Comparing this table to the previous one, it is noteworthy that international identity is not seen as automatic or given, except by the few students who define themselves as international by virtue of being human. By contrast, 4% of students claim that they can never be a 国際人 (*kokusaijin*, international person). The definitions of the majority of students suggest that international identity, like national identity, is developed over time through the efforts of the individual.

A selection of students' comments in each category follows. The number in brackets at the beginning of each quote gives the student's self-rating on the 1-5 scale.

not in the category

This category is for the students who state that they are not, and never can be, 国際人 (*kokusaijin*, international person).

- (1): 僕は、外国人ではないから。(Q7: 87)

- (1): 僕達はれっきとした日本人であり国際人とは違う所もいろいろある。(Q7: 101)

knowledge and skills - positive

This category includes knowledge of foreign languages, cultures and countries.

- (3): 英語をならっていろから。(Q7: 110)
- (4): 国際人に４をつけたのは日本人よりはおとるけど世界にはさまざまな所があることを知ったりしたし交流も深めたいから。(Q7: 69)

knowledge and skills - negative

- (1): 英語の成績もわるいし、外国のこともぜんぜん知らないし、英語も話せないから (Q7: 34)
- (1): 外国に対する知識もたりないし英語を話すことも出来ないから。(Q7: 146)

lifestyle - positive

- (2): 外国の文化も少しは取り入れている。(Q7: 91)

lifestyle - negative

- (1): 和風、洋風など食べる物が違うから。(Q7: 106)

contact and travel - positive

- (2): 一度も海外旅行に行ったことがないけれども外国の人達といろいろな話をしたりしたことがあったので (Q7: 136)
- (3): 私はまだ外国に行ったことはないけど、英語の授業をとおして、リン先生たちと、先生と生徒という関係をもったから。(Q7: 142)

contact and travel - negative

- (1): 外国へ行った事がないし、行きたいとは思わないし、自分は日本以外の国をあまり知らないので、国際人とは思わない。(Q7: 128)
- (1): 英語が得意じゃないので外国人とコミュニケーションがとれないので。(Q7: 151)

role/contribution

- (1): 日本にずっといて、国際的なことをしてないから。(Q7: 80)
- (1): 国際的には何もしていないから (Q7: 90)

ways of thinking

- (1): 国際人に１をつけたのは、国際人という意味もあまり知らないし、なんとなく国際人という気がしないから。(Q7: 56)
- (2): 国際人では、まだせきにんかんがないから。(Q7: 43)
- (2): 国際人だという実感がなかなかわいてこない。それは、自分のことや、身のまわりのことで、精一杯で、世界を見つめてないからだと思います。(Q7: 55)

world perspective

Students in this category all defined an international person as a world citizen, or a member of the human race.

- (3): 自分は、国際人の一人だから。(Q7: 65)
- (3): 自分は国際人の一人だけど、あまり他の国との人との交流がないから。(Q7: 76)

maturity

- (1): 国際人としては、まだまだ時間が必要だと思う。(Q7: 30)
- (2): まだまだ未熟だから。(Q7: 9)
- (3): 私は国際人のような人になりたいと思っていて、まだまだたりないところがあるので (Q7: 107)

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Glossary of Japanese terms

挨拶	*aisatsu*	ritual greetings and formulaic expressions
甘える	*amaeru*	to depend on smn., demand attention
生きがい	*ikigai*	reason for living
生き方	*ikikata*	way to live, way of living
一生懸命	*isshoukenmei*	with all one's might
一中	*icchuu*	'first junior high'
内	*uchi*	inside
裏	*ura*	behind
思いやり	*omoiyari*	thoughtfulness, consideration, empathy
表	*omote*	front, face
頑張る	*gambaru*	to try hard, persevere, do one's best
神	*kami*	god, spirit
漢字	*kanji*	Chinese characters
苦労	*kurou*	suffering, hardship
けじめ	*kejime*	distinction (see section 5.2)
国語	*kokugo*	the national language
国際	*kokusai*	international
国際化	*kokusaika*	internationalisation
国際人	*kokusaijin*	an international person
心	*kokoro*	heart, mind, inner self
個人	*kojin*	individual
個性	*kosei*	individuality
桜	*sakura*	cherry blossom (tree)
自覚	*jikaku*	self-awareness
思考力	*shikouryoku*	powers of thinking/ ability to think
指導	*shidou*	guidance, teaching
自分の考え	*jibun no kangae*	one's own thoughts/ ideas
自分を知る	*jibun wo shiru*	to know the self
神道	*shintou*	lit. "the way of the gods", Japanese religion
進んで	*susunde*	willingly, voluntarily, of one's own accord
熟	*juku*	cram school
精神	*seishin*	mind, spirit, will
積極的	*sekkyokuteki*	positive, active
壮行会	*soukoukai*	sending-off ceremony
外	*soto*	outside
魂	*tama*	soul, spirit
畳	*tatami*	a woven floor mat
立場	*tachiba*	position, viewpoint

➢ 建て前	*tatemae*	face
➢ 当番	*touban*	person on duty
➢ 日本語	*nihongo*	the Japanese language
➢ 日本人	*nihonjin*	Japanese person
➢ 日本人論	*nihonjinron*	theories of Japaneseness
➢ 人間	*ningen*	human being, mankind, character, nature
➢ 人間愛	*ningen ai*	love of human beings
➢ 人間関係	*ningen kankei*	human relations
➢ 人間形成	*ningen keisei*	the formation of humans, character building
➢ はかま	*hakama*	long, pleated skirt
➢ 班	*han*	small group (of approx. 4-6 students)
➢ 反省	*hansei*	self-reflection, soul-searching
➢ 班長	*hanchou*	head of *han*
➢ 判断力	*handanryoku*	ability to judge
➢ 副班長	*fukuhanchou*	deputy-head of *han*
➢ 本音	*honne*	real feelings
➢ 自ら進んで	*mizukara susunde*	of one's own accord, of one's own free will
➢ 文部省	*Monbushou*	Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture
➢ やる気	*yaru ki*	will, drive, motivation
➢ 豊か	*yutaka*	richness, abundance
➢ ローマ字	*roumaji*	Japanese written in Roman alphabet